

THE PAPERS *of the*
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY
OF AMERICA

VOLUME FIFTY

THIRD QUARTER, 1956

Thomas Jefferson and His Library*

By E. MILLICENT SOWERBY

IT is now almost fourteen years that I have been associated with Thomas Jefferson, for I first made his acquaintance in July 1942. I think I cannot pay him greater tribute than to say that during all this time I have never been bored with him for a single moment. He has roused other emotions, quite a variety of them, but never for an instant has he inspired boredom. He has grown upon me—for I knew absolutely nothing about him to start with—as one of the greatest men of his own, or perhaps of any age. If I may say so, I think that one of his really outstanding achievements and contributions to humanity is the number of people, including of course myself, whom he has helped to support since his death.

Jefferson's stature is such, and so much could be said about him, that it will be difficult to do him any justice in the short space of time allowed. I shall have to confine my remarks solely to him in connection with his books and the *Catalogue* of them, and not allow myself digressions.

Jefferson was a book collector all his life, and ranks as one of the great book collectors of his age. He assembled three libraries altogether. The first was housed in his mother's home at Shad-

* Read at the meeting of the Society at the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., May 4, 1956.

well, and the greater part was lost when Shadwell was burned down in 1770. The last was started in 1815, when he was 72 years old, and was intended by him for the University of Virginia. It was sold at auction in 1829, three years after his death. The second, and most important library which he collected during the greater part of his life, and which he sold, or, as he himself put it, ceded or relinquished, to Congress in 1815, is the one with which we are concerned this morning.

These books, such as are left of them, are now in the Rare Books Division in the Library of Congress. The original number was around 6,500 (although I have never known whether that meant books or volumes), of which there are now scarcely 2,500 left—and that number does refer to books. This is due in part to the 1851 fire in the Capitol, where the books were housed, and in part to reasons which may reveal themselves as we go along. We all know who are the first enemies of books.

At the time of the sale to Congress, Jefferson's library was probably the finest in the United States. That was certainly his own opinion of it, and he was probably quite right. As early as 1794, in inviting George Wythe to see it, he wrote that it is "now certainly the best in America." Twenty years later, in 1814, during the negotiations for the sale to Congress, he wrote to Samuel Harrison Smith, who was acting as his agent, that such a collection could "probably never again be affected, because it is hardly probable that the same opportunities, the same time, industry, perseverance, and expense, with the same knowledge of the bibliography of the subject would again happen to be in concurrence."

Jefferson, as you see, did not underrate himself, but there is no question that he did succeed in assembling an extremely fine library. It was scientifically collected, and Jefferson himself explained that he based his ideas on the concepts of human knowledge as classified by Sir Francis Bacon in the *Advancement of Learning*. A comparison between Bacon's scheme in tabular form, and

Jefferson's, similarly written at the beginning of each of his manuscript catalogues, is extremely interesting.

The result of this systematic collecting was a comprehensive library containing books on every possible subject from ancient history and literature to modern inventions. It is absolutely staggering to find a man with a mind capable of absorbing and understanding such a variety of subjects, and his letters to his various expert correspondents in different fields show that he really did absorb and understand. Naturally he acquired more books on subjects in which he was deeply interested. The sale to Congress included, for example, more than thirteen hundred books and pamphlets on politics, which was only natural, and his collection of books of travel and geography, especially those which relate to America, including Spanish South America, is particularly fine and comprehensive.

Not that Jefferson admitted any interest in politics, in fact, quite the reverse. "The truth is," he once wrote to Caspar Wistar, "that I have been drawn by the history of the times from Physical & mathematical sciences, which were my passion, to those of politics & government towards which I had naturally no inclination." On surgery, which he described as "a comfortable art because it's operations are freed from those doubts which must forever haunt the mind of a conscientious practitioner of the equivocal art of medicine," he collected only five books.

Jefferson was a book buyer throughout his life. All collections of his manuscripts have book bills from the principal cities of Europe and the United States. His methods of buying, when in Paris as Minister Plenipotentiary, were thus described by him in a letter to Samuel Harrison Smith: "While residing in Paris" he wrote, "I devoted every afternoon I was disengaged for a summer or two, in examining all the principal bookstores, turning over every book with my own hand, and putting by everything which related to America, and indeed that was rare and valuable in every science. Besides this, I had standing orders dur-

ing the whole time I was in Europe, on it's principal book-marts, particularly Amsterdam, Frankfort, Madrid and London, for such works relating to America as could not be found in Paris." In this letter Jefferson was trying to sell his books to Congress and therefore stressed the Americana, though actually his purchases covered a much wider range. No man ever had greater appreciation of the fact that history was being made in his time, and he seized the opportunity when in France to collect quantities of pamphlets on the French Revolution, the Diamond Necklace, and other matters. He collected also many English and American political pamphlets, always on both sides of the argument, and thus his library contains rich material for the historian scarcely to be found elsewhere. For the same reason he collected newspapers, both Federalist and Republican. Not that he had any faith in the facts printed by newspapers: "Nothing," he once wrote, "can be believed which is seen in a newspaper. Truth itself becomes suspicious by being put into that polluted vehicle. I really look with commiseration over the great body of my fellow-citizens, who, reading newspapers, live & die in the belief that they have known something of what has been passing in the world in their time."

Jefferson did not buy all his books singly from dealers; he sometimes bought private libraries either wholly or in part. After the death of Peyton Randolph he bought the magnificent library which Peyton had inherited from his father, Sir John Randolph, and his cousin William Stith the historian. This purchase included a number of early and irreplaceable Virginia historical and legal manuscripts, which fortunately survived the fire of 1851 and are now in the Library of Congress. He bought books from the estate of Richard Bland, the Virginia statesman and orator, and a large portion of the library of his old friend Samuel Henley, one-time Professor at William and Mary College. In his purchases Jefferson was never averse to second-hand copies, many of which, with the bookplates or autograph signatures of

former owners, would be valuable association copies today, even if not from the library of the third President of the United States. There are, for example, books from the library of Benjamin Franklin, some with Franklin's autograph notes, of William Byrd, Robert Proud, Robert Beverley, Lord Dunmore (the Colonial Governor at the time of the Revolution), and a number of others. In addition to the books he bought Jefferson's library contained a large number of gift copies. He numbered among his friends some of the greatest men of the day, both in the United States and in Europe, men of the calibre of Joseph Priestley, Richard Baxter, Sir John Sinclair, Dupont de Nemours, Thomas Paine (that Quisling), Joel Barlow, Abiel Holmes, Benjamin Waterhouse (the first to vaccinate in the United States), and numerous others, all of whom sent him copies of their works as they wrote them. Numerous minor authors too sent him copies of *their* works, especially during his Presidential years, anxious to win a commendation signed by the President of the United States. In addition George Wythe bequeathed to him his fine library, and Martha Wayles Jefferson brought with her a number of books from the library of her father and of her brother-in-law, Reuben Skelton.

Jefferson described himself as a bibliomaniac, which was probably correct, but he was certainly no bibliophile. Not for him the first place in the Ship of Fools. He made this quite clear in a letter to Lucy Ludwell Paradise, who had refrained from buying for him at the Pinelli sale in London a book which exceeded his commission. "Sensible that I labour grievously under the malady of Bibliomania" (he wrote), "I submit to the rule of buying only at reasonable prices, as to a regimen necessary to that disease."

He certainly never spent money unnecessarily on a book, and a first edition meant nothing to him. Eager as he might be to obtain a forthcoming publication, he was always content to wait until a second and cheaper edition had been published, and if a pirated edition of an English book printed in Dublin or Paris

could be obtained, so much the cheaper and therefore the better. In 1788 he was actually helping Pissot, a Paris publisher, to get out cheap pirated editions of English books, and in buying his law books he instructed his agent to get them whenever possible from Dublin, as "the Irish 8vos are preferred to the English because cheaper."

Within his price limit, Jefferson was definitely on the fussy side. He hated large books: folios and quartos were anathema to him. He wanted only books in octavo format or smaller, with good clear print, and in nice bindings. He was particularly fond, for example, of the Foulis press editions of the classics in duodecimo and collected a large number of them. These were recommended to him by George Wythe, who wrote to him on March 9, 1770, just a month after the Shadwell fire: "I send you some nectarine and apricot graffs and grapevines, the best I had; and have directed your messenger to call upon Major Taliaferro for some of his. You will also receive two of Foulis's catalogues. Mrs Wythe will send you some garden peas." In addition to the duodecimos he had, I am happy to say, the Foulis Homer's *Iliad* in folio, one of the most beautiful books ever printed, so beautiful that it makes you think you can read Greek even if you can't. His shelves had to look neat, with "good bindings and handsome, without being over elegant for use." His favorite binder was Joseph Milligan, an Englishman who had settled in Georgetown. "For elegant bindings there is no one in America comparable to him. His bindings are so tasty, so solid, and as heavy as blocks of metal." Fortunately a number of Milligan's bindings are still in the collection in the Library of Congress, and prove Jefferson's taste to be excellent. They are usually in tree calf, with gilt-tooled backs and marbled endpapers, though personally I should not describe them as being as heavy as blocks of metal.

So long as the outside of a book was "tasty and handsome," Jefferson was strangely unparticular about the inside. To him libraries were not, as they were to his mentor, Sir Francis Bacon,

the shrines where the bones of old saints full of virtue lie buried, or if they were, he felt no need to treat the bones with any particular respect. He seems to have been absolutely without feeling for a book as a work of art, and was ruthless in his treatment of them if the need, for him, should arise. Pamphlets, broadsides, atlases of plates or other publications, issued as quartos or folios but destined by him to be bound in octavo volumes, had perforce to become octavos; their margins were cut to the quick if necessary and the leaves folded to fit into the smaller covers. Binders were instructed to divide volumes into two parts if too large for Jefferson to hold comfortably, and to bind the two parts separately; engraved portrait frontispieces were torn out and lent to borrowers; editions of the classics were cut up, rearranged, and interleaved with translations, and thus conflated, rebound in an increased number of volumes. Jefferson's much admired *Morals of Jesus* is sufficient to prove my point, for it required the destruction of I don't know how many copies of the Bible for its compilation.

It is impossible to do justice to Jefferson as a book collector in a quarter of an hour, but before I begin to talk about the *Catalogue* I want to stress one of his great contributions, not to book-collecting, but to librarianship, and what is now called Library Science. I am referring to his system of classification, which was used by George Watterston in compiling the *Catalogue* of 1815, and was copied by other libraries. It remained in use, just as is, in the Library of Congress until 1900, when the present building was completed and the books moved into it. By this time the number of volumes in the Library had increased to such an extent that some modification of the system was found necessary. Even so, the new system was founded on Jefferson's, so that not only is his library the nucleus of the present Library of Congress, his system of classification is the basis for the present satisfactory arrangement.

Now for the *Catalogue*. The bicentennial of the birth of Thom-

as Jefferson was celebrated in April, 1943, and the Library of Congress very properly decided that a *Catalogue* of the books he had sold to Congress in 1815, the aforementioned nucleus, should form part of the celebration. Jefferson's books were not separated from the other books since acquired by the Library of Congress until 1900, and, apart from the very uninformative list compiled by George Watterston in 1815, with which Jefferson himself was far from satisfied, no definitive catalogue of them had ever been made. The early Library of Congress catalogues were compiled strictly according to his classification scheme, and the entries for his copies were marked by a capital J or an asterisk. In 1864 the first catalogue with the books in alphabetical order was printed, and the Jefferson copies remained unmarked.

In July 1942 I had the honor of being appointed to make the catalogue, to be ready in April 1943! I accepted gaily, not having the slightest idea of what I was in for. I imagine the reason that I was honored with the appointment was that I had been in the rare-book world all my life, and the authorities probably thought it would need a rare-book person to cope with Jefferson's library. Had this been the case the work might possibly have been done by April 1943, as most rare books have already been described and catalogued. But, as we have seen, Jefferson's major interests were not rare editions, and any rarity now in his library is there by accident rather than by design on his part. His Williamsburg imprints, for example, now great rarities, were not so when he bought them. The most valuable part of his library from the commercial point of view I should imagine to be the Spanish and other early Americana, in which he had some extremely fine books, none of which, unfortunately, has survived. Actually I was rather thankful that his copies of the first eleven parts of De Bry were not there, so there was no question of bothering with the various issues, either of text or plates.

The idea of the Library officials, as explained to me when I came, was an alphabetical catalogue, which was perfectly all

right with me until I saw Jefferson's manuscript catalogue of his books, which the Massachusetts Historical Society kindly allowed us to use as the basis of the new Catalogue. The books in this catalogue are not only classified by subject, but are obviously entered in the order in which they should be studied, and to lose that into an alphabetical catalogue would be to lose Jefferson. The result would have merely looked like a secondhand dealer's list. Moreover, I had been looking at his printed writings and had discovered what a lot he had to say about his books and their authors. Knowing that the Library of Congress owned a large quantity of Jefferson's manuscripts, though evacuated at the time, as were also the books, I thought what a wonderful historical document it would make to have him annotate the book entries himself, by quoting from his manuscripts. I suggested this plan to Authority, who agreed with my ideas, but probably still expected the finished work by April 1943. When the books and manuscripts were returned from evacuation I realized for the first time what I had let myself in for. However, I was not downhearted; that the Library of Congress should have difficulty in finding money never occurred to me. The Library of Congress has 42,426 numbered sheets of Jefferson's correspondence, and I had the privilege of using in microfilm the Jefferson papers in a number of other libraries, public and private. All these had to be read and the necessary extracts made. Jefferson kept a copy of every letter he wrote, either by means of the polygraph, or a copying press (in which he frequently used too much water and made the copy illegible), or a recently invented piece of black paper, apparently resembling our carbon paper. He kept also the letters written to him, and, apparently for the benefit of posterity as well as for his own convenience, he made an alphabetical and a chronological Index of all the letters written and received. I think that he knew he was making history, and was big enough to want posterity to know the whole story. The copies of his own letters include a number which show his political subterfuges,

and those written to him are sometimes far from complimentary. (I recall letters beginning "You red-headed son of a bitch.") It seems to me that only a really great man would keep such letters for posterity to read. In view of all this correspondence, the job I had in mind might have taken anything from five to ten years with an adequate staff, but with one bibliographer and one assistant, both apt to be put on part-time or fired when funds ran out—though thanks to the kindness of the Library that did not happen so very often—it has taken the time it has.

Jefferson's handwriting is fortunately very legible, though that of some of his correspondents, particularly the foreign ones, sometimes presented grave difficulties. The worst of a job of that sort is that one does not know what one may be going to need until one has become really acquainted with Jefferson, and that takes time. I was particularly fortunate in one respect. I was under the erroneous impression that he had not sold a copy of the *Notes on Virginia* to Congress. Therefore I did not list the references to that work at first. I shudder when I think what I should have missed. I should never have suspected that references to *my few poor worthless notes*, or *the few poor crudities I have thrown together*, were references to his beloved *Notes on Virginia*. Fortunately, by the time I did the *Notes* I knew him fairly well, but even so I nearly missed a gem. The *Notes* were actually in galley proof, and I was reading a long letter from Jefferson to John Trumbull on some other matter altogether, when I noticed the name *Stockdale* in the last sentence. Jefferson was at the time negotiating with Stockdale for a London edition of the *Notes*, and I read: "No news from Stockdale. I am done with him irrevocably." I need hardly say that it was inserted in the galleys immediately.

Apart from the correspondence, the books themselves were not without their problems when returned from evacuation. They numbered something over 2,000 and were placed in the stacks of the Rare Books Division. Since then I have found between three and four hundred more in the general or the Rare Book

stacks, and I am quite certain that there are a great many more of Jefferson's copies which are now unrecognizable as such, owing to the ways of librarians and the destruction of marks of provenance. I always remember going to the Binding Division when I was quite new to show them the 1815 bookplate and to request to be informed if such a bookplate should come in. They promised to do this, but at the same time informed me cheerfully that they had had for rebinding lots of books with that plate. (Probably Milligan or John March bindings!)

Finding a book in the stacks was always a triumph. I remember well Jefferson's entry for the first book in his American History chapter, "Vater on the peopling of America." This title was similarly entered, and checked as having been received, in the 1815 Catalogue. I could not find an English translation of Vater's book in any catalogue or bibliography. Eventually I went down to examine the German edition in the Library stacks, in case it might have an advertisement or some other announcement of an English edition. The moment I saw the book I knew it was Jeffy's. It was in a John March binding, with Jefferson's original shelf mark, initialled by Jefferson at signatures I and T, and had the 1815 bookplate. Jefferson had merely entered it in English because he did not know a word of German. Jefferson's entries were quite apt on occasion to cause a waste of time. I remember very well his "Meditazione sulla oeconomia politica dal Beccaria." This entry, calling for an edition of 1771, was repeated in all the catalogues which distinguish the Jefferson copies. I hunted high and low without result. I went through Beccaria's *Opere*, as Jefferson sometimes entered a portion of a book as though it were a whole one. I even read a life of Beccaria, all without result. These researches had brought to my attention the fact that a man named Verri had written a book with a similar title, so in despair I decided to see if it could give me any help. To my surprise Verri's card in the General Catalogue had the information that the copy was Jefferson's. I dashed to his stacks, and there was the very

book I had been hunting for. It was an anonymous publication, and on the title-page some previous owner had written "Dal Beccaria" copied by Jefferson and the early Library of Congress catalogues. The most delightful story in this connection resulted from a very misleading statement by Jefferson. Jefferson's manuscript catalogue, followed by the 1815 Catalogue, Chapter 4, no. 24, call for "Tracts relating to New England by Cotton Mather, small 4to." In the later catalogues, still ascribed to Mather, the title was changed to "Tracts relating to Witchcraft in New England," with the addition of the date and place of printing: Boston, 1697. The only book by Mather which came anywhere near to fitting the description was his *Memorable Providences relating to Witchcraft and Possessions* of which, although no edition was printed in Boston in 1697, an edition was printed in Edinburgh in that year, with the imprint: Printed at Boston in New England, and reprinted in Edinburgh, 1697. This was not too satisfactory, but was the best that could be done. It was duly described therefore under the Jefferson and 1815 catalogue headings for no. 24, and with a tentative note explaining that it might not be the right book, but that early cataloguers *had* been known to ignore the reprinted phrase, which in this case would leave us with Boston, 1697. Not satisfactory, but there was nothing else to be done. Volume I, including this number, was in corrected page proof when Mr. Langone, then of the Rare Books Division staff, brought me a book which had been called for by a reader, and in which he recognized the 1815 bookplate. This was Robert Calef's *More Wonders of the Invisible World*, printed in London in 1700. It was in a John March binding, and had Jefferson's own shelf mark, chapter 4, no. 24, and the 1815 bookplate with the same data. I immediately checked no. 24 in the 1815 catalogue, and found of course that it was "Tracts relating to New England by Cotton Mather." Calef's book, an attack on Mather and witchcraft, had lost its title-page (which has since been supplied in manuscript), and opened with the Epistle to the

Reader, dated from Boston in New England, August 11, 1697. Moreover, the first thirteen pages contain an extract from Cotton Mather with a preface signed by him. Jefferson must have looked at the book very superficially, but his entry was accounted for. I could have embraced Mr. Langone, but I doubt if the Government Printing Office proof reader had any kindly feelings towards me when I insisted on changing the entry in the page-proof, and I was by no means pleased at the small space into which I had to cram the description. I was delighted to find only a short time ago that George Watterston had also been deceived by Jefferson's and his own catalogue entries. On April 28, 1821, Watterston, signing himself Librarian U. S. Library, advertised in the *National Intelligencer* for some books which had been secretly taken out of the Library of Congress. His list included "a work in p. 4to by Cotton Mather, of some antiquity and great rarity." Watterston knew the book in 1815, but by 1821 had forgotten, for Calef's book was not missing. I was delighted to know about the Watterston slip, which I owe to Mr. Clapp's habit of cleaning out his desk drawers and sending anything that relates to Jefferson down to me.

Speaking of the Government Printing Office, which has done a most remarkable job, I was frequently at odds with them on account of their zeal for accuracy being as great as my own. For instance, I placed a large J before the entries to denote that Jefferson's copy was still extant. The absence of a J, which meant of course that there was no Jefferson copy, was taken by the GPO to mean careless work on my part, and they kindly filled the gaps for me and placed a J before every entry. I regret to state that one or two of these extraneous Js have been overlooked and are still in the catalogue. You can imagine too what difficulties we have had with Jeffy's spelling and capitalization.

Another source of trouble was caused not by the GPO but by early librarians, whose ideas of the classification of pamphlets were at variance with Jefferson's. Jefferson had his pamphlets

bound together in volumes, according to subject, and always wrote a list of the contents of the volumes on the fly-leaves. The pamphlets were not as a rule initialled by him, but his handwriting on the fly-leaves gave all the information required. A large number of these pamphlet volumes have been torn apart, the contents bound separately in buckram, and reclassified. Jefferson's fly-leaf of course was lost with the rebinding. In such cases it is impossible to know the contents of the volumes, or to recognize Jefferson's copies. I remember finding one little pamphlet bound in buckram, with Jefferson's list bound in at the end. That was a wonderful stroke of luck.

I have good reason to believe that more Jefferson copies will turn up, because they are still turning up. For instance, Mr. Thomen of the Library staff found some time ago among the discarded duplicates a set of *The History and Proceedings of the House of Lords* in 7 volumes. Each volume had the Library of Congress 1815 bookplate and the bookplate of Reuben Skelton, Martha Jefferson's brother-in-law. Each volume was initialled by Jefferson at signatures I and T; each had a J on the back and a J for Jefferson pencilled on the 1815 bookplate. Yet so small was the interest in Jefferson in 1909, the book was discarded as a duplicate, and the discarder signed her name! This find came too late for Volume III where it belonged, and has had to go into the Addenda in Volume V. Here will be found other discoveries, including a set of pamphlets, obviously Jefferson's, discovered by Miss Mildred Loudon in doing her "Not in Evans"—a list (as yet unpublished) of all the books in the Library of Congress not recorded in Charles Evans's *American Bibliography*.

The bibliographical information supplied by Jefferson and his correspondents in this *Catalogue* is quite remarkable. (They are listed in the Index in Volume V.) It is entirely owing to Jefferson that we know that the Farmer of New Jersey who wrote *Observations on Government* in 1787 was John Stevens of New Jersey, and not William Livingston, to whom it has always been ascribed; that William Beverley, not his brother Robert, was the author of

the *Abridgment of the Public Laws of Virginia*; and that the pamphlet entitled *Colony Commerce* by Alexander Campbell Brown, and so entered by Sabin and other bibliographers, was actually by Mark Leavenworth of Connecticut, who himself wrote to Jefferson to inform him of the facts. An anonymous and extremely rare pamphlet bound by Jefferson in a volume with others has been torn out and lost, but fortunately not before it was seen by Sabin, whose note reads: "Attributed to Carter Braxton, in Jefferson's handwriting in the copy in the Library of Congress." Two extremely subversive pamphlets were printed without name of place, printer or date. It is thanks to Jefferson that we know that these were by Genêt, the Minister Plenipotentiary from France; Jefferson has not only written *par Genet* on one of them, but has given an account of both in the *Anas*.

I should like to close with a mention of two of the many humorous incidents in Jefferson's library. The first is the set of volumes entitled by Jefferson himself, "The Book of Kings." This consisted of four separate books of European scandals which, until October 1814, when the negotiations for the sale were in progress, were in their proper places on Jefferson's shelves, two in foreign and two in British History. On October 17, Jefferson wrote to instruct his binder, Joseph Milligan, that he was sending

a packet of 6 vols, which though made up of 4. different works, I wish to have bound as one work in 6. vols. to be labelled on the back "the Book of Kings." the 1st and 2nd vols will be composed of the *Memoirs of Bareuth*, the binding to remain as it is, only changing the label. The *Memoirs of Mad. La Motte* will make the 3d and 4th vols. pared down to the size of the first & bound uniform with them. Mrs Clarke's will be the 5th vol. pared & bound as before, and 'the Book' will make the 6th which to be uniform in size with the rest must perhaps be left with it's present rough edges. pray do it immediately and return it by the stage that they may be replaced on their shelves should Congress take my library.

It is most unfortunate that these books are no longer extant. However, a delightful touch has been added by George Ticknor, who visited Jefferson in February 1815, before the library had

left Monticello, and wrote a descriptive account. "Perhaps the most curious single specimen, or, at least the most characteristic of the man and expressive of his hatred of royalty was a collection which he had bound up in six volumes, and lettered *The Book of Kings*." After listing the volumes, Ticknor went on: "These documents of regal scandal seemed to be favorites with the philosopher, who pointed them out with a satisfaction somewhat inconsistent with the measured gravity he claims in relation to such subjects generally."

The second story concerns the reconciliation arranged by Benjamin Rush between Jefferson and John Adams. The quarrel, which separated them for years, took place at Jefferson's dinner table, and I recall that Mrs. Adams was "sensibly flushed." It worried their friend Rush, who eventually succeeded in bringing about a reconciliation. To show his pleasure Adams immediately sent Jefferson a gift. On New Year's Day, 1812, he wrote to him: "As you are a Friend to American Manufactures under proper restrictions, especially Manufactures of the domestic kind, I take the Liberty of sending you by the Post a Packett containing two Pieces of Homespun, lately produced in this quarter by one who was honoured in his youth with some of your attention and much of your Kindness." Jefferson was delighted and immediately wrote to Adams a long letter of thanks, beginning: "I thank you before hand (for they are not yet arrived) for the specimens of homespun you have been so kind as to forward me by post." The letter then goes on with a long dissertation on homespun, and a comparison of that produced in the north, the south, and abroad. He made a copy of his own letter and of that of Adams to him, and sent them both, with another long letter, to Benjamin Rush. The man who took these letters to the post brought back with him the parcel of Homespun, which was a domestic manufacture indeed, and consisted of the two volumes of a book by John Adams' son, John Quincy Adams. Poor Jeffy; if only he had waited!

The Writings of William Faulkner: A Challenge to the Bibliographer*

By H. RICHARD ARCHER

WILLIAM Faulkner, the Mississippi author who is sometimes referred to as "the Bard of Yoknapatawpha County," has been receiving awards regularly in recent years. Besides the 1949 Nobel Prize for Literature which was presented to him on December 10, 1950, he was the recipient of the National Book Award in 1951 and again in 1955.¹ Among other honors, he was elected to the American Academy of Arts and Letters, receiving that Society's "Howells Medal"; he has been made a Member of the Legion of Honor of France, and in 1954 The Limited Editions Club presented him with a medal for his contribution to American letters. Later, in May of 1955, he was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for his novel *A Fable*.

Today Faulkner is recognized as one of the foremost writers of his generation, and his published writings are of interest to the bibliographer as well as to the reader, critic and literary historian.

I have not embarked upon this study as a result of Faulkner's growing popularity. My interest in Faulkner as a writer had its origin in the early thirties, and by 1936 I began to think of compiling a descriptive bibliography of his work. I hoped to do a detailed study of the published material with the object of discovering the authentic text and its history through examination of the circumstances of publication. I learned later that this would

* Read at the meeting of the Society in New York, January 28, 1955.

¹ For *Collected Stories* (New York, Random House, 1950); for *A Fable* (New York, Random House, 1954).

be *quite* a project. However, my interest continued, and since 1936 I have been gathering material and compiling notes in my spare time.

In years to come the bibliographical problems of our collectors and scholars are going to be even more difficult to solve than those which we now face, as we attempt research on the authors of the nineteenth and earlier centuries. With this in mind, I shall point out some of the problems confronting collectors of today who attempt to gather and record bibliographical details about contemporary writers. Although I am dealing with only one writer, the generalities which result from such a study may be applicable to the work of others.

Part of the challenge arises from the nature of the materials required for dissemination of the writings of authors in the mid-twentieth century, where radio, microfilm, TV, tape, wire and disc recordings (and every other form of mass medium) contribute to the maze, which can no longer accurately be called "bibliographical." Some of the problems of present-day bibliographers of the work of a popular (or accepted) author are usefully reflected in the forms that the writings of William Faulkner have taken, whether printed, "audio," or audio-visual. There may be other contemporary writers who have had greater influence, or who have made more money, or who have sold more stories and books, but I believe I am being fair when I say that no first-rate American writer has engaged in more of the varied media of communication than has William Faulkner.

Let us consider the categories under which his work may be classified; not with regard to content, but with regard to physical form, the media employed in distributing it. I do not include original manuscript material, for it is obvious that very little of this is available at present. We know of some miscellaneous manuscripts here and there, but there is no important collection assembled for study.

I list briefly the categories into which Faulkner's writings and related materials fall:

(1) Books written by Faulkner and published for the trade, including foreign as well as domestic publications.

(2) Stories, poems, essays, reviews by Faulkner which have appeared in periodicals, including foreign journals, whether translated or not.

(3) Other compilations: anthologies, etc.; these may include stories and other writings which have been published previously in periodicals or bound books or fragments from longer works, as well as excerpts from stories and novels published earlier, domestic and foreign, including pocket editions.

(4) Critical studies of Faulkner: (a) reviews; (b) literary criticism; (c) lectures about his writings, interpretations, analyses (some may not have been printed); (d) interviews (which often appear in magazines and newspapers); (e) theses and dissertations; (f) satires and parodies.

(5) Bibliographical and biographical: (a) dealers' catalogues, check-lists, quotations and auction records; (b) *Notes & Queries*, *The Explicator*, *Faulkner Studies*; (c) biographical and encyclopaedic compilations; (d) historical writings, *Mississippi State Guide*, etc.; (d) correspondence from people who know Faulkner, such as collectors and bibliographers.

(6) Iconography; includes photographs, drawings, sketches, caricatures, reproductions as well as originals, and pictures that deal with Faulkner's background and his surroundings.

(7) Audio-visual (non-printed) materials: screen plays, film stories, additional dialogue for cinema, radio and television, whether from his own stories or from stories by other writers. Examples: *Wild Palms* on radio; *Error in Chemistry*, *The Brooch* and *Wild Stallion* (adapted from *Knight's Gambit*) and scenes from *The Sound and the Fury* on television. The scripts for the above programs or any shows performed "live," as well as those on Kinescope for later broadcast. Recordings and tapes made from Faulkner's own reading, such as one released on LP.² Any scripts for live drama on the stage, or stories used for ballet, such as choreography which used the theme of Faulkner's novel *As I Lay Dying*.

(8) Miscellaneous; includes gossip and folk-lore, hearsay, publicity releases, advance notices. The spreading of the Faulkner legend or myth. Publicity stories that lead to comments by columnists in magazines and

² "Faulkner Reads from His Works," Caedmon LP, Microgroove, TC 1035, 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ RPM, recorded September 30, 1954.

newspapers. Even conversations, the unrecorded evidence or reports from one person to another, repeated and sometimes elaborated—as in Robert Coughlan's *The Private World of William Faulkner* (New York, Harper, 1954)—may enhance or destroy the reputation of a celebrity.

These are the categories which include anything of interest to the bibliographer, collector, critic or literary historian. But how far should one attempt to go in the search for completeness? Naturally, the bibliographer need not be a collector himself, but if he hopes to produce an accurate and reliable piece of work *he must rely on a collector*, whether an individual or an institution. A fairly complete bibliography might be made from library catalogue cards, references in dealers' catalogues, and miscellaneous check-lists, but a more definitive bibliography will result from a first-hand association with the many items which fit into the categories enumerated above.

I do not believe (nor do I intend to imply) that the individual collector is necessarily the logical person to compile and annotate the bibliography of a writer or specific subject. However, I do believe that such a collector may fuse the material and his interest into something which may result in a useful (or even a scholarly) contribution, if he is talented and aware of the importance of bibliographical details. Michael Sadleir, Geoffrey Keynes, Falconer Madan, Henry R. Wagner, Wilmarth S. Lewis and Donald Gallup are some of the names familiar to you, of collectors who have the necessary qualifications. There are others, equally prominent, who write competently about the authors whose books they collect.

Fortunately, there have been some preliminary probings in the field of Faulkner bibliography, and these will serve as useful guides. Aubrey Starke's pioneer article entitled "An American Comedy: An Introduction to a Bibliography of William Faulkner" appeared over twenty years ago.³ It was a very good first effort, and remains the basis for all subsequent studies. Robert

³ *The Colophon*, Part 19 (New York, Pynson Printers, December 1934), [1-12].

Daniel's valuable *Catalogue* of the exhibition held at Yale University appeared eight years later.⁴ This was more than a so-called "hand-list," for it afforded, with a minimum of errors, additional material for the listing of Faulkner's published work. However, fourteen years have passed since this *Catalogue* was published, and the need for a revised edition is apparent. Through correspondence with Mr. Daniel I have learned that he is preparing a revision of his work.⁵

Other aids to the bibliographer have appeared during the past five years. John L. Longley joined with Robert Daniel in compiling a seven-page list of "Faulkner's Critics: A Selective Bibliography," for the journal *Perspective*.⁶ In 1951, Bradley T. Perry published "A Selected List of Critical Works on William Faulkner."⁷ A useful and fairly complete list of references was included in *William Faulkner: Two Decades of Criticism*.⁸ And more recently we have had the issues of *Faulkner Studies*, which began publication in the spring of 1952.⁹ Each issue of this quarterly journal listed additions to the bibliography of articles about Faulkner and his writings; eleven issues, including one double issue, appeared.¹⁰ The original editor, Alan Swallow, commented in the first issue as follows:

... Since the war, William Faulkner's work has been more often praised than not. Now we have Faulkner as perhaps the most important of the new literati. He is the subject of semi-polite conversation as well as of

⁴ Robert W. Daniel, *A Catalogue of the Writings of William Faulkner* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1942).

⁵ During the fall of 1953, when I was on a foreign tour I loaned my entire collection of books and ephemera to Mr. Daniel, who was working on a revision of his *Faulkner Catalogue* while teaching at the University of Tennessee.

⁶ *Perspective*, III (Autumn 1950), 202-208.

⁷ *University of Kansas City Review*, XVIII (Winter 1951), 159-164.

⁸ *William Faulkner: Two Decades of Criticism*, edited by Frederick J. Hoffman & Olga W. Vickery (East Lansing, Michigan State College Press, 1951), pp. 269-280.

⁹ *Faulkner Studies*. Quarterly. (Denver & Minneapolis, 1952-1955), I-III.

¹⁰ The name of the journal was changed, in 1956, to *Critique*, but articles on Faulkner may be included from time to time.

serious criticism. . . . The purpose of this Journal, then, is not adulatory, but rather to assert the true value of scholarly and critical study. . . . Such an effort requires a thorough bibliography as a primary function—not merely a listing, but instead an effort to annotate dispassionately.¹¹

A later editor indicated that “the eventual aim is a complete annotated bibliography of Faulkner criticism.”¹²

One might ask, “Where does Faulkner the writer fit into this scheme of preparing a bibliography of his writings? How far may we expect his coöperation in such a project?” Those who know Faulkner know the answer to these questions. Malcolm Cowley, the critic who did commendable work editing *The Portable Faulkner*, has given us one such answer:

He [Faulkner] doesn’t furnish information, or correct mis-statements about himself (most of the biographical sketches that deal with him and his work are full of preposterous errors). He doesn’t care which way his name is spelled in the record, with or without the “u”—“Either way suits me” he said.”¹³

But it is spelled “Falkner” in the telephone book of Oxford, Mississippi (1955).

Consider Faulkner’s answer to Marshall J. Smith who asked him a question about his birth.

“Born?” He restated the query to get set for his smart-crack. “Yes. I was born a male and single at an early age in Mississippi. I am still alive but not single. I was born of a Negro slave and an alligator, both named Gladys Rock. I had two brothers, one Dr. Walter E. Traprock and the other Eagle Rock, an airplane.”¹⁴

As that hadn’t discouraged Mr. Smith, he went on:

“Folks try too hard to understand. The public expects too much of present-day novelists. Read a book and let it go at that. You can read it in two days. It takes months to write one. If you can’t understand it after

¹¹ *Faulkner Studies*, I (Spring 1952), 3.

¹² *Ibid.*, II (Autumn 1953), 45.

¹³ *The Portable Faulkner* (New York, The Viking Press, 1946), p. 4.

¹⁴ “Faulkner of Mississippi,” *The Bookman*, LXXIV (December 1931), 412.

reading it, then forget it. Your time and the author's have been wasted. If a story is in you, it has got to come out. If you have something to say you can write it—in fact, you have got to write it.”¹⁵

When I first decided to gather notes for a Faulkner bibliography I sent a letter to Jacob Blanck, who at that time conducted a column, “News from the Rare Book Shops,” in *Publishers' Weekly*. Mr. Blanck was good enough to run a short notice about my proposed project in the journal.¹⁶ He also took the trouble to write a letter to me later, offering advice and encouragement. Here are some excerpts:

Anybody [who] goes into this work of bibliography with the idea that he can make a profit is sadly mistaken. Believe me, there's nothing in bibliography but hard work, quantities of headaches but at the same time a quiet joy, that can't be described. Take this as a warning! . . . Don't stop with the collation of books and pamphlets, but go back to the original sources, the magazines, the ephemera, the 'iana'—everything that should be of interest to the dyed in the wool enthusiast. . . . Also you must draw on his publishers. They will think you a nuisance, but you will have to put up with it. Demand, in a pleasant way, of course, exact information as to the publication dates, number of copies in first printings, etc. . . .¹⁷

Encouraged by Mr. Blanck's letter, I set out on the trail from which I have often wandered (but never *too* far). Here it is eighteen years later, and I am speaking to you in the same room with Mr. Blanck, and though I have not compiled the definitive bibliography of Faulkner's writings, I *have* made a beginning. I have acquired what appears to me to be a fairly representative collection of Faulkner's published work, augmented by the curious ephemeral pieces which inevitably seem to belong to such a collection. Some readers may wonder whether these matters are within the province of bibliography, and others may feel that some are instances of what A. Edward Newton called “pseudo-

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 413.

¹⁶ February 12, 1937, from H. Richard Archer to Jacob Blanck, reported in *Publishers' Weekly*, February 27, 1937.

¹⁷ Jacob Blanck to H. Richard Archer, February 18, 1937.

bibliography." I believe that they too are worth the bibliographer's attention, for if literary scholars and social historians are to understand the work of a creative writer they need to have all the pertinent details.

Take, for example, Faulkner's acceptance speech when he received the Nobel Prize for Literature for 1949. This is commonly referred to as the "I Decline to Accept the End of Man" speech, and it was printed in Stockholm.¹⁸ Faulkner's reply (in English) to the presentation made by Dr. Gustaf Hellström (printed in English as well as Swedish) is given in full.¹⁹ In this early form of the speech (which I believe we may consider the first authoritative printing) certain minor differences may be noted. These do not appear in the text of all the other printed versions that I have read. The words as read by Mr. Faulkner were recently recorded on an LP disc and agree with the later printed versions, which do not follow the words exactly as they were printed in Stockholm.²⁰

I doubt whether many people have read the official version as presented in Stockholm, after that December day in 1950. It is possible that Faulkner changed the text after submitting a manuscript copy to the Academy. Perhaps he read the later version and allowed the other version to appear in the official book published by the Swedish Academy. The well-known and often quoted sentence: "I decline to accept the end of man" does not appear in the Stockholm printing. There it reads: "I do not believe in the end of man." There are several other minor discrepancies. We may wonder when it was that Faulkner revised his earlier statement; and, if he did revise it, did he then issue a version for his publishers and the press to use which differed from the one he had written for the occasion? There is the possibility that the speech was recorded at the ceremony, although I have no evidence to show that it was. Undoubtedly it was taken down by a

¹⁸ *Le Prix Nobel en 1950* (Stockholm, 1951), pp. 47-50.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ LP record, "Faulkner Reads from His Works," *op. cit.*

stenographer, but unless we compare such a transcription with the usual printed version, we cannot be certain about what was actually said.

There have been hundreds, if not thousands, of reprintings of the speech, but the earliest United States printing that I have seen appeared in the *New York Herald Tribune Book Review* (January 14, 1951). This was reprinted three weeks later in Bennett Cerf's "Trade Winds" column of the *Saturday Review*.²¹ I have seen at least a dozen other printings of the speech, from the privately printed Random House pamphlet to the *Vogue* magazine printing (March 1951), and a separate printing in pamphlet form issued by Chatto & Windus in England, dated 1951. It is safe to estimate that hundreds of newspapers and magazines have reprinted it in various translations, here and abroad, but I have noted only one reference to a translation.²²

I wonder if many people remembered the words in the Nobel speech when they read Faulkner's latest novel, *A Fable*? I have a reason for asking this question. In Faulkner's *Notes on a Horse Thief* we find these words:

... and [man] he would survive that too ... beyond the ultimate worthless tideless rock freezing slowly in the last red and heatless sunset ... because he was immortal and would last forever, ...²³

A large portion of this section, which appeared in the first separate book edition, does not appear in the later version which was published in *Vogue*²⁴ before the complete novel, *A Fable*, was published.²⁵ Apparently the *Vogue* version is the same as the one which appears as part of *A Fable*, although I have not compared

²¹ *Saturday Review*, XXXIV (Feb. 3, 1951), 3.

²² *Lyrik der Welte* (Berlin, 1953), contains a translation into German of Faulkner's Nobel Prize Speech, although I have not been able to locate a copy to check page references.

²³ *Notes on a Horse Thief* (Greenville, Miss., Levee Press, 1950), p. 69, line 14. Colophon reads in part: "Printed the week of Nov. 4, 1950." This was before Faulkner was notified officially that he had been awarded the prize.

²⁴ *Vogue*, July 1954, pp. 46-51, 101-107.

²⁵ *A Fable* (New York, Random House, 1954), published August 2, 1954.

the text word for word. However, the diligent and observing reader will discover that the words quoted above, taken from the separate book publication of *Notes on a Horse Thief*, appear later in *A Fable* somewhat changed, but carrying the same message and ringing with some of the same phrases. In the latter version, however, they are spoken by the old General to the Corporal:

Oh yes, he will survive it because he has that in him, which will endure even beyond the ultimate *worthless tideless rock* freezing slowly *in the last red* and heatless sunset, because already the next star in the blue immensity of space will be already clamorous with the uproar of his debarkation, *his puny and inexhaustible voice still talking*, still planning; and there too after *the last ding dong of doom has rung and dies there will be one sound more*: his voice . . . I do not fear man. I do better: I respect and admire him . . . Because man and his folly . . . They *will prevail!*²⁶ [Italics mine.]

We notice here some of the phrases which were included in Faulkner's speech accepting the Nobel Prize:

It is easy enough to say that man is immortal simply because *he will endure*; that when *the last ding-dong of doom* has clanged and faded from the last *worthless rock* hanging *tideless* in the *last red* and dying evening, that even then there will be *one more sound*; that of *his puny inexhaustible voice still talking*. I refuse to accept this. I believe that man will not merely endure; he *will prevail* . . .²⁷ [Italics mine, to emphasize comparison.]

It is worth noting that the version in *A Fable* does not use some of the ideas and words which appeared in *Notes on a Horse Thief*, such as the name "Ford" and the attack on "war" and "civilization." Yet the version of *Horse Thief* which is included in the novel has a long supplementary section of almost fifteen pages (amounting to twelve columns in the *Vogue* printing). This is material new to the story of *Horse Thief* as it was originally published by the Levee Press.

From this analysis of three printed texts (without recourse to the author's manuscript), the bibliographer may gain a valuable

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 354, line 14 ff.

²⁷ *New York Herald Tribune*, January 14, 1951.

hint of what is in store for him when he begins to compare different printings of what may at first seem to be the same story. In this example a reader of *A Fable* would have no idea that he had missed anything by not reading the first publication in book form, yet had the bibliographer not bothered to compare *Horse Thief* with the *Vogue* printing as well as *A Fable*, he would have missed the supplementary section printed in these later versions.

To cite another instance: a story entitled "Name for the City" appeared in *Harper's*²⁸ and later as the prologue to Act I, entitled "The Courthouse," in the book *Requiem for a Nun*.²⁹ There are interesting differences in this work: the version in book form is longer and considerably altered from the first magazine appearance.

Literary students and historians as well as many readers may well be interested in comparing the use Faulkner makes of some of the same phrases and words in a preliminary version of a story, a privately printed book, a Nobel Prize acceptance speech, or the final book form of a novel which reaches thousands of readers. Whether Faulkner borrowed the phrases and ideas for his speech from a piece of his creative writing or whether he recalled some of his own words in part of his speech, the bibliographer cannot definitely say. If the information in the colophon of *Notes on a Horse Thief* is accurate, the text of that book was printed before Faulkner received official notification of the award from Stockholm, which was announced on November 10, 1950.

More might be said about this speech and Faulkner's expression of his beliefs if one examines the Commencement Address which he delivered to the graduating class of the high school in Oxford, Mississippi, when his daughter Jill graduated on May 28, 1951. This was also printed in *The Harvard Advocate* with the title, "Never be Afraid."³⁰ A review of this address which

²⁸ *Harper's* CCI (October 1950), 200-214.

²⁹ *Requiem for a Nun* (New York, Random House, 1951), pp. 3-48.

³⁰ *The Harvard Advocate*, CXXXV (November 1951). I have examined a copy at the University of Mississippi Library, but have none in my collection. The speech,

appeared in *Faulkner Studies* stated that though it was "largely a re-creation of his Nobel Prize speech, it does show a significant and interesting change from the famous pronouncement."³¹ Where will it all end, and how can the bibliographer keep up with Mr. Faulkner?

There are other examples which show how Faulkner has used his own stories, rewritten and considerably changed, in later novels or collections of short stories. We need not dwell on this aspect of the author's methods except to give two interesting examples, one of which, so far as I have been able to determine, has not been noted before.

In Faulkner's second published novel, *Mosquitoes* (not considered to be one of his major works), a sonnet is quoted which was supposedly written by one of the characters in the book. Six years later this sonnet, beginning "Lips that of thy weary all seem weariest," is included as one of the poems in *The Green Bough*, a volume of Faulkner's poetry.³² Fragments of two other poems have been used also in the same novel, and "Fairchild" (a character generally believed to have been based on Sherwood Anderson) reads these excerpts in the collection entitled "Satyricon of Starlight."³³ Faulkner even has "Fairchild" comment on poems and poets:

You and me sitting here, right now, this is one of the most insidious things poetry has to combat. General education has made it too easy for everybody to have an opinion on it. On everything else too. The only people who should be allowed an opinion on poetry should be poets.³⁴

The text of *The Hamlet*, a novel, requires some unravelling.

or selections from it, appeared in the newspaper *The Oxford Eagle* about the time of the graduation. I have not seen a copy.

³¹ *Faulkner Studies*, I (Fall 1952), 44.

³² *Mosquitoes* (New York, 1927), p. 252; printed as No. XXXVIII, in *The Green Bough* (New York, 1933), p. 61.

³³ *Mosquitoes*, pp. 246-247, printed as No. XXVII in *The Green Bough*, pp. 49-50; and *Mosquitoes*, p. 249, printed as No. IV in *The Green Bough*, p. 21.

³⁴ *Mosquitoes*, pp. 252-253.

Sections of this book are made up of five previously published "stories." According to Peter Lisca, writing in *Faulkner Studies*,³⁵ the original magazine versions have been altered considerably in the novel. "Spotted Horses" and "The Hound" had appeared in 1931, followed by "Lizards in Jamshyd's Courtyard" in 1932; while "A Fool about a Horse" was originally published in August 1936, and "Barn Burning" appeared in June 1939. It is apparent to those who read and study these stories and compare them with *The Hamlet* that the novel "is not a re-publication of short stories, but rather that the stories are previously published parts of work-in-progress."³⁶

With regard to little-known and unusual Faulkner items, there are two which belong in the Faulkner *corpus* but which I have never seen. A letter which I received from a private collector eighteen years ago described an item which, although it has an auction record, is certainly scarce.

Marionettes: A Play in One Act by W. Faulkner [Title-page] First Edition, 1920 [Lower left-hand corner on verso] 55 p. 8½ x 5¼ inches. The entire book is illustrated by hand.³⁷

The collector believed his "copy to be the only one in private hands," and Faulkner, attesting to its authenticity, informed him that: "I wrote a play by that name once. It was never printed. I made and bound a few copies by hand. I signed none of them. There may be a Ms. It is so long ago, I don't know."³⁸

A curiosity for Faulkner collectors and bibliographers is an item entitled: "Afternoon of a Cow, as Told by the Man Who

³⁵ Peter Lisca, "The Hamlet: Genesis and Revisions," *Faulkner Studies*, III (Spring 1954), 5-13.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 8.

³⁷ Described in letter to the writer dated March 3, 1937. This item was also described and offered for sale in 1934 in Philip C. Duschnes' catalogue, No. 12, item 57; and I am grateful to Mr. Duschnes for this information and for showing me a copy of the catalogue in his shop, January 29, 1955. A copy of this title, possibly the same item, sold at auction in Philadelphia by Samuel Freeman & Co., February 16, 1938, brought \$60.50.

³⁸ In letter cited above.

Writes Mr. Faulkner's Stories." This item was typed and a few copies were sent around to Faulkner's friends, according to information given to me by a man who was apparently a close friend (and at one time an agent) of Faulkner's. A story with this title appeared in *Furioso* attributed to "Ernest V. Trueblood," listed on the contents page as "William Faulkner's Ghost-writer."³⁹ There is also a footnote to the story stating that

A translation of this story appeared in *Fontaine* number 27-8, Numero Special MCMXLIII, a magazine published in Algiers, translated by Maurice Coindreau, who supplied the English copy⁴⁰

from which the story was printed in *Furioso*. Whether it is a bibliographical ghost or not, the original typed copy is definitely a rarity. The twelve-page story in *Furioso* was followed by "Notes on William Faulkner" by R[eed] W[hitemore], one of the editors, who commented:

But this discovery of the [Faulkner] saga does not make Mr. Faulkner a historian, even if he wants to be [one], which I very much doubt. . . . For one thing, he likes Mystery; but historians hate Mystery. Historians like to know. For another he hates Chronology; but historians love Chronology . . . And for another he likes to shock people; but historians hate sensationalism.⁴¹

How can a bibliographer achieve success when his author has no respect for facts, chronology, or decorum? It leaves him to his own devices, and makes it necessary for him to discover and describe his findings without expecting verification, or denial, from Mr. Faulkner—creator of tales, writer of distinction, "Bard of Yoknapatawpha County."

³⁹ *Furioso*, II (Summer 1946), 5-17.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 17.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 23.

The Text of Rochester and the Editions of 1680

By DAVID M. VIETH

I

THE earliest printed collection of the poems of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, has recently received considerable expert attention. First published shortly after Rochester's death in 1680, this collection quickly passed through at least ten editions, all of which give the same sixty-one poems in the same order and are obviously interdependent. Many aspects of these editions are questionable. They are surreptitious publications all bearing the fictitious imprint "Printed at Antwerp" or "Printed at Antwerpen," their publishers are unidentified, and they assign numerous poems to Rochester which are certainly not his. Nevertheless, they are central to any scholarly consideration of Rochester's work, for they contain the core of the Rochester canon and they served as ultimate sources for almost all later editions of his poems.¹

The importance of these printed editions was first pointed out in a book by James Thorpe.² Thorpe succeeded in locating seventeen extant copies of the collection, which he found to represent

¹ A condensed version of this paper was read before the Modern Language Association on December 27, 1954. For helpful criticisms during its preparation I am grateful to Dr. William B. Todd and to Professors Fredson Bowers, James Thorpe, Maynard Mack, and James M. Osborn. For assistance in locating unpublished manuscript material, and for permission to use this material, I am indebted to Professor Osborn and to the officials of the following libraries: Yale, Harvard, Princeton, University of Illinois, Folger, British Museum, Bodleian, Cambridge, University of Nottingham.

² James Thorpe, *Rochester's Poems on Several Occasions* (1950).

ten different editions. Working on the assumption that "the text tended to deteriorate in successive editions" (p. xiii), he arranged the editions in the stemma depicted in Appendix A, figure 1; this stemma required that two editions be postulated in addition to the ten known to be extant. As the first of the editions, Thorpe selected the one which he designated as HU (Huntington), and he gave a facsimile reproduction of its text as the major portion of his volume. He also included a record of the variant readings of the other nine extant editions, a list of other texts of the poems, and some notes on their authorship.

Thorpe's conclusions concerning the priority of the HU edition have, however, been challenged in an article by William B. Todd,³ who maintains that the first of the printed editions is actually the one designated by Thorpe as PF (Pforzheimer). Todd's procedure, which was not employed to any extent by Thorpe, involves the use of what he terms "separate texts" of the poems in the editions. These separate texts are other early texts, chiefly manuscript copies, which Todd believed were not derived from the printed editions and which could therefore be expected to preserve readings anterior to those in the editions. Wherever the printed editions exhibited textual differences among themselves, the editions which agreed with the separate texts would presumably represent the earlier and more correct readings. Assembling and collating a group of such separate texts in the British Museum and Bodleian Libraries, Todd found that for a selected group of significant variants, the PF edition followed the readings of the separate texts more closely than did the other editions. This discovery led him to conclude that PF rather than HU was the first of the editions, and he rearranged Thorpe's stemma as shown in Appendix A, figure 2. Moreover, Todd observed, as Thorpe had not, that the three editions designated as S, PRb and BMa had evidently taken a few readings

³ William B. Todd, "The 1680 Editions of Rochester's *Poems*: With Notes on Earlier Texts," *PBSA*, XLVII (1953), 43-58.

from the PF edition.⁴ This apparent consultation of PF is indicated on the diagram by three broken lines.

Evidence is available, however, which suggests that Todd is mistaken about the priority of the PF edition and that Thorpe was correct in choosing the HU edition as the first. The most crucial evidence is a previously unrecorded manuscript miscellany acquired from the Rosenbach Company in 1951 and donated to the Yale University Library by Professor James M. Osborn. This manuscript, hereafter referred to as the Yale MS., appears to belong to a family of manuscripts of which some other member served as copy-text for the first of the editions, and it is evidently related to the first edition in a collateral fashion. The importance of the Yale MS. will immediately be obvious, but before it can be used to help determine the order of the editions, its nature must be more fully demonstrated.

II

The Yale MS. is a bound quarto volume of four hundred and six numbered pages bearing the title "Songs & Verses Upon severall occasions." Most of the manuscript, extending through page 391 and including all or part of fifty-nine poems, is in a single late seventeenth-century hand. Another hand of about the same date has added eight more poems which appear to have no integral connection with the poems in the first hand and will not be discussed further. Unfortunately, the manuscript is marred by seven gaps where leaves have been cut out.⁵ No table of contents is included which might supply information as to the

⁴ Todd, p. 48. It is reasonably clear that S and PRb did consult PF for some readings. That BMa did so is less certain, however, since the relevant readings are fewer in number and less distinctive.

⁵ Because of the gaps, the Yale MS. lacks text corresponding to the following portions of the printed editions: first gap, 14.14-19.10; second gap, 28.13-30.13; third gap, 35.13-40.20; fourth gap, 55 title-61.4; fifth gap, 72 title-73.12, 73.17-74.8; sixth gap, 75.5-87.14; seventh gap, 92 title-96.28. The Yale MS. also provides no text for "On Rome's Pardons," 151 title-151.19. Here and elsewhere, citations of the text are given in the form of the page number in Thorpe's edition, followed by a period, followed by the line number in his edition.

missing poems. The only clue to the original ownership of the volume is the name "Hansen" written below the title; the name may be in the second of the two hands.

Even a casual examination of the Yale MS. reveals that the portion in the first hand is related in some fashion to the printed editions. Aside from the gaps, it gives the same poems in the same order except that it includes eleven additional poems, omits one poem, and exhibits three small differences in arrangement.⁶ Moreover, the text of the manuscript is relatively close to those of the editions. The question of first importance is obviously whether the manuscript is derived from any of the editions, for if it is, its value is slight. On the face of the matter, it is unlikely that anyone would go to the trouble of transcribing an entire book amounting to one hundred and forty-nine pages in the earlier editions. Better evidence of the non-derivative character of the manuscript can, however, be obtained by the method used by Todd. The Yale MS. will presumably preserve a text anterior to those of the editions if, for an appreciable number of signifi-

⁶ After "Satyr" (p. 6) the Yale MS. includes "The Answer" ("Were I to choose what sort of Shape Pd weare"); after "On the same Author" (p. 89) it includes "On the Enjoyment of his M^{rs}" ("Since now my Silvia, is as kind as faire"); after "A Session of the Poets" (p. 111) it includes "An Epitaph" ("Under this Stone doth lye") and "Tunbridge Wells A Satyr" ("At Five this Morne, when Phoebus raisd his head"); after "An Apology to the fore-going Satyr" (p. 127) it includes "Upon a certaine Woman who by her falshood & scorne was y^e Death of my Friend" ("Noe; she shall ne're escape, if Gods there be"); after "A Call to the Guard" (p. 131) it includes "Mac Flecknoe A Satyr" ("All human things are subject to decay") and "Upon a late fall'n Poet" ("A sad mischance I sing alas"); after "My Lord All-Pride" (p. 144) it includes "A Familiar Epistle to M^r Julian Secretary of the Muses" ("Thou Comon Shore of this Poetique Towne"); after "Captain Ramble" (p. 146) it includes "A New Ballad to an Old Tune Call'd Sage Leafe" ("I sing y^e praise of a Worthy Wight"), "The D: of B: Letany" ("From a proud Sensuall, Atheisticall life"), and "Satyr" ("As Colon drove his Sheepe along"). The Yale MS. does not include "On Rome's Pardons" (p. 151). In the Yale MS., the song beginning "Against the Charmes our Ballocks have" (p. 73) appears immediately after the song beginning "While on those lovely looks I gaze" (p. 71); the third of the three poems on Edward Howard (p. 90) precedes the second (p. 89); and "To all curious Criticks and Admirers of Meeter" (p. 104) appears immediately after "An Epitaph" ("Under this Stone doth lye"). In this footnote and those which follow, poems appearing in the printed editions are cited by title or first line and page number as given in Thorpe's volume; poems appearing in the Yale MS. but not in the editions are cited by title and first line as given in the manuscript.

cant readings, it differs from all the editions and agrees with the separate texts listed in Appendix B.⁷

Before proceeding further, however, it may be well to clarify some aspects of the method to be employed. In the first place, none of the available separate texts need be direct sources of the printed editions or the Yale MS. A few of them may be direct sources, but whether they are or not is immaterial for present purposes. This means that separate texts dated later than the editions may be utilized so long as they represent a line of textual transmission which bypasses the editions and the Yale MS. All texts derived from the editions or this manuscript should, of course, be rigorously excluded from consideration. It is also desirable, though not essential, to eliminate all other texts derived entirely from extant sources, since they provide no information not present in their originals. Moreover, to avoid confusion, it is advisable to ignore all conflated texts derived partially from extant texts.

It should be emphasized, furthermore, that the types of variants traditionally employed in dealing with printed texts may not all be acceptable where manuscript texts are concerned. In a study of interdependent printed texts, it sometimes happens that the accidentals—variants in punctuation, spelling, and the like—provide significant evidence as to the relationship of texts. With manuscript texts, however, the accidentals and even the lesser substantives often yield inconclusive or contradictory results.

There are numerous reasons why this should be so. For one thing, a printed copy-text, being generally more legible than a

⁷ It has unfortunately not been feasible to publish the three appendices containing the evidence on which my conclusions are largely based. These are Appendix B, which lists the separate texts which I have used; Appendix C, which is a collation of the variants between HU and the Yale MS. with the readings of the separate texts; and Appendix D, which is a collation of the variants between HU and PF with the readings of the Yale MS. and the separate texts. I have deposited a microfilm of these appendices in the Yale University Library; anyone wishing to consult them may order a print.

manuscript copy-text, is likely to be reproduced more accurately in its smaller details. Also, a compositor would be inclined to reproduce his copy-text in a mechanical fashion, whereas a scribe, unless trained to "follow his copy right out the window," would usually lack concepts of exactness; moreover, he might have a personal interest in his copy-text and therefore be more likely to introduce minor alterations to suit his own fancy. A more important reason stems from the fact that for every surviving printed copy, there were formerly in existence many others just like it, whereas no manuscript copies are likely to be identical. Thus, though the rate of mortality among manuscript and printed copies may have been approximately equal, the extant manuscript texts are farther removed from each other than are the extant printed texts, and their minor variants have tended to become obscured in successive copyings. For reasons such as these, it is often desirable when dealing with manuscript texts to confine the area of consideration to the more striking substantive variants. This limitation works no hardships, for related manuscript texts generally exhibit much greater differences in readings than do related printed texts.

With these principles in mind, we may return to the Yale MS. A collation of its readings with those of the printed editions and the separate texts, provided by Appendix C in combination with Thorpe's collation, yields abundant evidence that the Yale MS. is not derived from any of the editions. It differs from all the editions and agrees with the separate texts in a total of one hundred and forty-two readings scattered throughout the portions of text which it shares with the editions.⁸ About one-third of these

⁸ 3 title, 4.16 second reading, 4.17, 5.3, 5.26, 6 title, 8.7, 8.16, 9.1 first reading, 9.1 second reading, 9.4 (2), 9.25, 10.15, 12.23 second reading, 12.27, 13.13, 21.13, 21.22 margin, 23.12, 24.8, 25.9 first reading, 25.9 second reading, 25.10, 26.7, 26.26, 27.26, 30.20, 32.23, 33.3, 33.5, 33.7 first reading, 33.7 second reading, 33.14, 33.17, 33.21, 33.22 (2), 33.23, 33.24, 34.2, 34.13, 34.15, 34.16, 41.14, 41.15, 41.25, 41.28, 41.31 first reading, 41.31 second reading (2), 42.4, 42.26, 43.3, 43.11 margin, 43.13, 43.15, 43.20, 44.12, 44.13, 44.18, 44.22, 44.23, 46.21, 46.32, 47.14, 47.20, 47.22, 48.2, 49.9, 50.13, 50.16, 50.18, 52.17, 53.18, 54.1,

variants are trivial or otherwise not significant, but the remaining two-thirds represent cases in which the Yale MS. preserves readings probably or certainly anterior to those in the editions. Forty-three variants involve fifty cases in which the Yale MS. gives full names where the editions merely give initials.

Although this textual collation provides strong evidence that the Yale MS. is not derived from the printed editions, additional arguments may be given. One such argument is afforded by the ascriptions in the Yale MS. Of the poems which it shares with the editions, the Yale MS. attributes a total of twelve to authors other than Rochester, and eleven of these twelve ascriptions can be supported by other evidence. In no case does the Yale MS. appear to have been influenced by the many erroneous ascriptions in the editions, which assign all of their sixty-one poems to Rochester. Seven poems which the Yale MS. explicitly attributes to Rochester are all assigned to him in other sources not derived from the editions.⁹

A further argument arises from the differences in contents and arrangement between the Yale MS. and the printed editions, for there is reason to believe that the Yale MS. rather than the editions preserves the order and contents of the archetypal source from which all are ultimately derived. The method of arriving at this conclusion requires knowledge of the way in

62.1, 63.16, 67.6, 71.8, 87.20, 88 title, 89 title, 89.16, 90.7, 90 title, 90.12, 90.16, 90.20, 91.20, 99.5, 100.3, 102.21, 103.2, 105.16, 107.19, 108.5, 108.25, 109.2, 109.6 first reading, 109.6 second reading, 109.7, 109.21, 110.4, 111.1, 111.9, 111.14 first reading, 111.14 second reading, 111.19, 111.21, 112.4, 112.15, 112.23, 112.26 second reading, 113.1 first reading, 113.1 second reading, 113.3, 113.9, 113.26, 114.3, 114.9, 115 title margin, 117.4, 117.22, 119.20, 121.1, 124.6, 125.3, 128.21, 141.29, 142.6, 143.19, 145.2, 146 title, 146.5, 147.1, 148.5, 148.23, 148.25, 149.5-149.8, 149.32, 151.3. The Yale MS. differs from HU and agrees with the separate texts, but agrees also with some other editions, in fourteen instances: 3.3, 19.21, 23.27, 25.12 margin, 33.11, 33.13, 42.27, 45.24, 48.13, 61.11, 97.8, 107.6, 121.27, 129 title. Here and elsewhere, the term "agrees" is applied to a few cases of partial or approximate congruence as well as to those which are exact.

⁹ The ascriptions in the Yale MS. will be discussed in a subsequent publication dealing with the authorship of the sixty-one poems in the printed editions. The Yale MS. actually provides evidence as to the authorship of many poems besides those for which it gives explicit ascriptions.

which many Restoration poems were circulated in manuscript. As is well known, such poems in the early stages of circulation were usually passed singly from hand to hand in manuscript sheets. What is not so well known is that sometimes these poems were gathered into manuscript pamphlets or loose sheets containing two to five poems and circulated in this form before being copied into manuscript miscellanies and commonplace books.¹⁰ That this happened is suggested by surviving examples, as well as by the fact that groups of two to five poems often appear linked in the same order in two or more large manuscript collections.

A number of such groups of linked poems are present in the Yale MS. and the printed editions, as is shown by the occurrence of the same linked groups in other sources not derived from the editions or the manuscript. In some cases the Yale MS., the editions, and the other sources give the groups in the same form, but in four instances these linked groups occur in places where the Yale MS. and the editions exhibit differences in contents or arrangement, and in all four instances the arrangement in the Yale MS. agrees with that in the other sources.¹¹ This result sug-

¹⁰ Groups containing more than five poems may have existed, but I have not encountered any. These groups of poems are a subject which could bear further investigation.

¹¹ (1) Group consisting of "Satyr" (p. 6) followed by "The Answer" ("Were I to choose what sort of Shape I'd weare"). The Yale MS. gives both poems in this order, as do Harvard MS. Eng. 623F, Harvard MS. Eng. 636F, and Camb. MS. Add. 6339. The printed editions omit "The Answer." This group might, however, have been formed independently by two or more scribes, since the second poem is an answer to the first.

(2) Group consisting of the songs beginning "How blest was the Created State" (p. 70), "While on those lovely looks I gaze" (p. 71), "Against the Charmes our Ballocks have" (p. 73), and "By all Loves soft, yet mighty Pow'rs" (p. 72), which occur in that order in Harvard MS. Eng. 636F. The Yale MS. gives the first two poems and part of the third in this order, with the remainder of the group removed by the fifth gap. The printed editions give the third and fourth poems in reverse order and insert between them the song beginning "Room, room, for a Blade of the Town" (p. 72).

(3) Group consisting of the three satires on Edward Howard beginning "Come on ye Critticks! find one fault who dare" (p. 88), "Thou damn'd Antipodes to common sense" (p. 90), and "As when a Bully, draws his Sword" (p. 89). The three poems occur in this order in the Yale MS. and in *The Annual Miscellany: For*

gests that in the remaining cases where such differences occur, the order and contents of the archetypal source are represented by the Yale MS. rather than by the editions. The variations in contents and arrangement were possibly present in the lost copy-text for the first edition, but they are more likely to have been introduced in the process of printing.

These conclusions have a bearing on the short poem entitled "On Rome's Pardons," which is the last poem in the printed editions but which fails to appear either in the corresponding position or elsewhere in the Yale MS. It is possible that this poem was removed by one of the gaps in the Yale MS., or that it appeared in the copy-text for the first edition and not in the Yale MS., but its position at the end of the editions points instead to a familiar bibliographical situation. The last poem which the editions share with the Yale MS., "Captain Ramble," continues only through the first four lines on the recto of the last leaf of the earlier editions. If nothing else followed, most of the recto and all of the verso of this leaf would be left blank. Frequently an attempt would be made to fill such a space, but in the Yale MS., and presumably in the copy-text for the first edition, all the remaining poems would have been too long. It is therefore probable that "On Rome's Pardons" was taken from some other manuscript source because it was approximately the required length.

It should be evident from the preceding discussion that the Yale MS. is very nearly equal in importance to all the printed edi-

The Year 1694, 1694. The printed editions give the second and third poems in reverse order.

(4) Group consisting of "Ephelia to Bajazet" (p. 138), "A very Heroical Epistle" (p. 140), "On Poet Ninny" (p. 143), "My Lord All-Pride" (p. 144), and "A Familiar Epistle to M^r Julian Secretary of the Muses" ("Thou Comon Shore of this Poetique Towne"). The printed editions include only the first four poems, but all five occur in this order in the Yale MS. and Osborn MS. Chest II, Number 14, and also in BM Egerton MS. 2623, where they occupy a manuscript pamphlet by themselves. Moreover, a manuscript copy of the group probably served as copy-text for *A Very Heroical Epistle from My Lord All-Pride to Dol-Common*, 1679, which gives the second and fourth poems in order and includes a reference to the first poem.

tions put together. Its existence substantially confirms Thorpe's speculation that the first edition was printed from a single manuscript miscellany (pp. xxxi-xxxii). Moreover, in its text, its contents and arrangement, and its ascriptions, the Yale MS. preserves valuable features of the archetypal source which are lacking in the editions.

III

The conclusion that the Yale MS. is not derived from any of the printed editions allows it to be used in evaluating Todd's evidence for the priority of the PF edition. Todd's case rests almost entirely upon a selected group of thirty-six variants appearing in the editions and his separate texts. His figures are, of course, given for all the editions, but for the sake of clarity they may be cited only as they apply to PF and HU. He found that in thirty cases where PF and HU exhibited variants, the separate texts agreed with PF in twenty-eight instances (groups *a* and *b*) and with HU in only two instances (group *e*). In two cases PF and HU agreed with each other and with the separate texts (group *c*), and in four cases PF, HU, and the separate texts all gave different readings (group *d*).¹²

Convincing though this evidence appears, entirely different results are obtained when Todd's thirty-six variants are compared with the readings of the Yale MS. Ten of these variants are eliminated because they fall within gaps in the Yale MS. In fourteen cases the Yale MS. agrees with HU and not with PF, as against only nine cases in which it agrees with PF and not with HU, thereby giving HU approximately a three-to-two superiority. In two instances the editions agree with each other and with the Yale MS., and in one instance the Yale MS. agrees with neither. A further fact which requires explanation is that in nine

¹² Todd, p. 45. Footnote 3 on this page contains two errors. Dr. Todd has kindly informed me that 30.6 should be in group *b* rather than group *a*, and that 144.10 in group *c* should read 114.10.

cases, most of them clearly significant, the HU edition agrees with the Yale MS. while the PF edition agrees with Todd's separate texts.¹³ It is also noteworthy that of the twenty-eight cases in which Todd cites separate texts in support of PF, eight depend solely upon manuscript texts which the evidence suggests were derived from printed texts including the editions.¹⁴

This new evidence indicates that Todd's case for the PF edition may not be valid, for it is apparent that the situation is more complicated than has hitherto been supposed. The figures are too limited, however, to support any positive conclusions. As we have seen, a substantial number of Todd's thirty-six variants are eliminated from consideration by the gaps in the Yale MS. Moreover, of the one hundred and forty-nine pages of text in the earlier editions, Todd claims to provide usable separate texts for only ninety-seven pages containing only thirty-nine of the sixty-one poems. Even this premise is not fully justified, for the separate texts which he lists for eleven of the thirty-nine poems may all have been derived from printed texts including the editions.¹⁵ A fresh and more extensive collation is necessary, and the material for this purpose is furnished by the separate texts listed in Appendix B. This list includes numerous items previously un-

¹³ Variants fall within gaps in Yale MS.: 14.22, 14.27, 15.4, 30.4, 30.5, 30.6, 30.10 first reading, 56 title, 58.13, 93.17. Yale MS. agrees with HU and not with PF: 9.1, 12.23, 12.28, 14.5, 20.10, 20.14, 21.7, 22.15, 22.16, 24.32, 30 subtitle, 41.10, 88.24, 144.10. Yale MS. agrees with PF and not with HU: 19.21, 23.27, 33.11, 33.13, 41.25, 42.27, 45.24, 48.13, 97.8. Both HU and PF agree with Yale MS.: 114.10, 131.18. Neither HU nor PF agrees with Yale MS.: 32 title. HU agrees with Yale MS. while PF agrees with separate texts: 9.1, 20.10, 20.14, 22.15, 22.16, 24.32, 30 subtitle, 41.10, 144.10. Todd's collation as well as my appendices should be consulted for these readings.

¹⁴ 30.4, 30.5, 30.6, 30.10 first reading, 30 subtitle, 56 title, 93.17, 97.8. But in four of these cases the PF reading is supported by non-derivative separate texts: 30.6, 30.10 first reading, 30 subtitle, 97.8.

¹⁵ The eleven poems are "The Imperfect Enjoyment" (p. 28), "To Love" (p. 30), "On the suppos'd Authour" (p. 49), "The Answer" (p. 50), "Upon his Drinking a Bowl" (p. 56), the song beginning "I rise at Eleven, I Dine about Two" (p. 59), the song beginning "Phillis, be gentler I advise" (p. 65), the song beginning "What cruel pains Corinna, takes" (p. 65), "The Fall, a Song" (p. 70), "Actus Primus Scena Prima" (p. 76), and "The Disappointment" (p. 92).

recorded; counting the texts in the Yale MS., it amounts to almost four times the number of non-derivative texts utilized by Todd. It provides comparative readings for all variants in the full collation of HU and PF given in Appendix D.

This augmented group of texts can be used in several ways to supply further evidence against Todd's arguments and to afford an indication of the true situation. Significant results are obtained by comparing the readings of the Yale MS. with the seventy-six variants exhibited by the HU and PF editions. The Yale MS. agrees with HU in forty-four cases and with PF in only eleven cases, giving HU a superiority of four to one. In two instances neither edition agrees with the Yale MS., and the remaining nineteen variants fall within gaps in the Yale MS. In eleven cases, most of them clearly significant, HU agrees with the Yale MS. while PF agrees with some separate texts.¹⁶

Since this comparison fails to utilize some of the available evidence, it is desirable to compare the seventy-six variants between HU and PF with all the relevant readings in the separate texts and the Yale MS. The HU edition agrees with the separate texts or the Yale MS. in fifty-six cases, whereas the PF edition agrees with them in only thirty-three cases, giving HU better than a five-to-three superiority. In one instance neither edition agrees with the separate texts or the Yale MS. In fourteen cases, most of them clearly significant, HU and PF exhibit simultane-

¹⁶ Yale MS. agrees with HU: 4.9, 9.1, 12.23, 12.28, 14.3, 14.5, 20.10, 20.14, 21.5, 21.7, 22.15, 22.16, 24.32, 27.10, 28.11, 30 subtitle, 41.10, 51.15, 53.17, 68.23, 88.24, 90.5, 90.10, 100.13, 105.24, 109.5, 110.23, 113.7, 121.26, 124.14, 124.24, 128.12, 130.26, 131.20, 132.2, 132.4, 132.12, 133.15, 138.13, 139.25, 144.10, 144.13, 146 title, 149.28. Yale MS. agrees with PF: 3.3, 19.21, 23.27, 33.11, 33.13, 41.25, 42.27, 45.24, 48.13, 97.8, 134.15. Yale MS. agrees with neither: 32 title, 121.27. Variants fall within gaps in Yale MS.: 14.22, 14.27, 15.4, 17.12, 18.29, 30.4, 30.5, 30.6, 30.10 first reading, 30.10 second reading, 35.19, 36.2, 36.14, 36.16, 38.27, 56 title, 58.13, 83.32, 93.17. HU agrees with Yale MS. while PF agrees with separate texts: 4.9, 9.1, 20.10, 20.14, 22.15, 22.16, 24.32, 27.10, 30 subtitle, 41.10, 144.10. My information on the variants among the printed editions is taken entirely from Thorpe's collation, which I have not checked with the original texts.

ous agreement with separate texts or the Yale MS.¹⁷

Noteworthy shifts may be observed in this last set of figures if the variants in the first ten poems in the editions are omitted. The remaining text, containing fifty-one poems and comprising one hundred and three of the one hundred and forty-nine pages in the earlier editions, includes thirty-four of the seventy-six variants between HU and PF. HU agrees with the separate texts or the Yale MS. in thirty cases, whereas PF agrees with them in only five cases, giving HU a six-to-one superiority. In only one instance do HU and PF exhibit simultaneous agreement with separate texts or the Yale MS.

This series of statistics, though it does not show which of the ten extant editions is the earliest, nevertheless serves to indicate a situation which Thorpe and Todd apparently did not suspect: *two* editions rather than just one must have derived readings from sources other than the editions, presumably manuscript sources. Since all ten editions are plainly interdependent, this means that one edition must have been derived entirely from manuscript sources whereas another edition merely consulted them for a few readings and therefore represents a conflated text of considerably less value. Todd's figures, despite their limitations, show that one of these editions is PF. It remains to identify the other and to determine which is the first.

That the other edition is HU, and that HU is the first of the

¹⁷ HU agrees with separate texts or Yale MS.: 4.9, 9.1, 12.23, 12.28, 14.3, 14.5, 14.22, 17.12, 18.29, 19.21, 20.10, 20.14, 21.5, 21.7, 22.15, 22.16, 24.32, 27.10, 28.11, 30.4, 30.5, 30.10 second reading, 30 subtitle, 33.11, 36.2, 41.10, 51.15, 53.17, 56 title, 68.23, 83.32, 88.24, 90.5, 90.10, 93.17, 100.13, 105.24, 109.5, 110.23, 113.7, 121.26, 124.14, 124.24, 128.12, 130.26, 131.20, 132.2, 132.4, 132.12, 133.15, 138.13, 139.25, 144.10, 144.13, 146 title, 149.28. PF agrees with separate texts or Yale MS.: 3.3, 4.9, 9.1, 14.27, 15.4, 17.12, 19.21, 20.10, 20.14, 22.15, 22.16, 23.27, 24.32, 27.10, 30.6, 30.10 first reading, 30 subtitle, 32 title, 33.11, 33.13, 35.19, 36.16, 38.27, 41.10, 41.25, 42.27, 45.24, 48.13, 58.13, 97.8, 121.27, 134.15, 144.10. Neither edition agrees with separate texts or Yale MS.: 36.14. HU and PF exhibit simultaneous agreement with separate texts or Yale MS.: 4.9, 9.1, 17.12, 19.21, 20.10, 20.14, 22.15, 22.16, 24.32, 27.10, 30 subtitle, 33.11, 41.10, 144.10.

printed editions, is shown by the following table comparing the readings of the Yale MS. with the variants between HU and each of the nine other extant editions.¹⁸

Edition compared with HU	Total number of variants	Yale MS. gives text	HU agrees with Yale MS.	Other edition agrees with Yale MS.	Neither edition agrees with Yale MS.
PRa	49	37	36	0	1
PF	76	57	44	11	2
F	17	12	12	0	0
HA	47	33	31	2	0
S	61	52	47	4	1
PRb	82	61	51	8	2
BMa	122	90	79	9	2
BMb	150	113	104	8	1
BOD	170	125	115	8	2

The important parts of this table are the third and fourth columns, which indicate the number of cases in which the Yale MS. agrees, respectively, with HU and with each of the other editions. Among the editions most closely related to HU, the PRa, F, and HA editions yield figures which support the priority of HU almost unanimously. Not included in the table is the postulated edition X, which is also clearly not the first edition. Of the at least twenty-six variants between HU and X, the Yale MS.

¹⁸ The figures in this table can be checked by comparing Thorpe's list of variants with the collation of HU and the Yale MS. in Appendix C. Omitted from consideration are the readings in BMa and BMb affected by the missing page in Thorpe's microfilm of BMa (97.8, 97.20) and by a misprint in his list of variants (133.28).

agrees in twenty-three cases with HU, in no case with X, and in one case with neither; two variants fall within gaps in the Yale MS.¹⁹ PF agrees with the Yale MS. in a greater number of cases because its consultation of manuscript sources enabled it to correct some readings which are corrupt in HU but not in the Yale MS. The few cases in which S, PRb, BMa, BMb, and BOD agree with the Yale MS. result partly from accident and partly from the fact that some of these editions consulted the corrected readings of PF.

Additional evidence that HU and not PF is the first edition is given by the readings of PRa, which stems from an intermediate position between HU and PF even though it is not in the direct line of textual transmission. For the moment let us assume that PF is the first edition, as Todd contends, and that HU is the conflated text. It follows that the readings in which HU differs from PF and agrees with some separate texts or the Yale MS. will represent cases in which HU consulted manuscript sources. Consequently the readings of PRa, which will not have been derived from the readings of HU, should not agree with them in these cases. On the other hand, if HU is the first edition and PF the conflated text, then the readings in which PF differs from HU and agrees with some separate texts or the Yale MS. will represent cases in which PF consulted manuscript sources. In these cases, therefore, the readings of PRa, not being derived from the readings of PF, should not agree with them. In other words, where HU and PF exhibit variants, the priority of each is supported by those cases in which it agrees both with PRa and with some separate texts or the Yale MS. This test produces significant results: the priority of HU is supported by thirty-one

¹⁹ The twenty-six variants are those cases in which PRa and PF agree with each other and differ from HU. Yale MS. agrees with HU: 14.3, 14.5, 20.10, 21.5, 27.10, 51.15, 53.17, 68.23, 90.5, 100.13, 105.24, 121.26, 124.14, 124.24, 130.26, 131.20, 132.2, 132.4, 138.13, 139.25, 144.13, 146 title, 149.28. Yale MS. agrees with neither HU nor X: 121.27. Variants fall within gaps in the Yale MS.: 30.10, 36.2.

readings whereas that of PF is supported by only three unimportant readings.²⁰

Some conclusions can be formulated concerning the extent to which the PF edition introduced corrected readings from manuscript sources. Twenty-six of the seventy-six variants which it exhibits in comparison with HU are shared with PRa and were therefore presumably taken from the postulated edition X. Of the remaining fifty variants, PF agrees with the separate texts or the Yale MS. in thirty cases affecting fourteen of the sixty-one poems in the volume.²¹ Twenty-six of these thirty variants are concentrated in the first ten poems in the volume, and their character is such as to suggest that PF consulted manuscript sources for readings in most if not all of these poems. Among the remaining four poems, PF may possibly have consulted manuscript sources for single readings in "My Lord All-Pride" and the song beginning "As Cloris full of harmless thoughts," but it seems unnecessary to assume that it did so for an obvious correction in "The Disappointment" and another in "A Call to the Guard by a Drum."

It is interesting to observe that Thorpe and Todd both left

²⁰ Readings supporting HU: 4.9, 9.1, 12.23, 12.28, 14.22, 17.12, 18.29, 19.21, 20.14, 21.7, 22.15, 22.16, 24.32, 28.11, 30.4, 30.5, 30 subtitle, 33.11, 41.10, 56 title, 83.32, 88.24, 90.10, 93.17, 109.5, 110.23, 113.7, 128.12, 132.12, 133.15, 144.10. Readings supporting PF: 20.10, 27.10, 121.27. The remaining forty-two variants between HU and PF are indeterminate, consisting of twenty-three cases in which PRa agrees with PF while only HU agrees with the separate texts or the Yale MS., eighteen cases in which PRa agrees with HU while only PF agrees with the separate texts or the Yale MS., and one case in which neither HU nor PF agrees with the separate texts or the Yale MS.

²¹ The twenty-six readings which PF probably took from X are identical with those listed in footnote 19. The thirty readings for which PF possibly or probably consulted manuscript sources are 3.3, 4.9, 9.1, 14.27, 15.4, 17.12, 19.21, 20.14, 22.15, 22.16, 23.27, 24.32, 30.6, 30.10 first reading, 30 subtitle, 32 title, 33.11, 33.13, 35.19, 36.16, 38.27, 41.10, 41.25, 42.27, 45.24, 48.13, 58.13, 97.8, 134.15, 144.10. PF may, of course, have consulted manuscript sources for a few further readings which are not preserved in the Yale MS. or the available separate texts. It is possibly noteworthy that the first ten poems in PF, in which the conflated readings chiefly occur, occupy gatherings A, B, and C; but even if this fact should subsequently prove to be significant, it can scarcely require any major revision of my conclusions concerning the relationships of the printed editions.

themselves open to criticism primarily because they did not recognize the amount of conflation which was present in their texts. Thorpe was vulnerable to Todd's strictures because he did not suspect that the PF edition represented a conflated text derived partially from manuscript sources, and because he did not realize that the S, PRb, and BMa editions were conflated texts derived to a small degree from PF. Todd, similarly unaware that one of the printed editions might be conflated from manuscript sources, reasoned that the PF edition must be the first because it was closer than the other editions to some readings in his separate texts. His logic would be irreproachable if the editions were completely interdependent, but it is fallacious in light of the true circumstances. Students of the Restoration have hitherto failed to recognize the extent to which conflation occurred in texts of this period. Judging from the texts of poems ascribed to Rochester, it was a widespread phenomenon.²²

IV

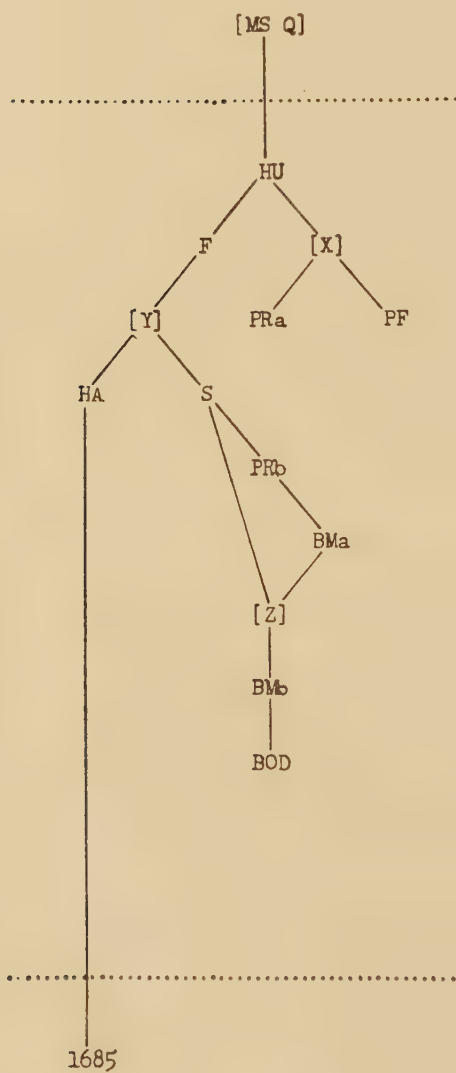
Still to be considered is the problem of the precise relationship which the Yale MS. bears to the HU edition. Conclusions on this subject must remain tentative for the present, but the collation available in Appendix C appears to indicate that the Yale MS. is not a direct source of HU. The readings of HU differ from those of the Yale MS. and agree with those of the separate texts in a total of eighty-seven instances scattered throughout the portions of text which HU shares with the Yale MS.²³ About

²² Some hints as to how this conflation took place are supplied by the texts of Rochester's "Satyr" (p. 6). Three manuscript texts of this poem include interlinear corrections or variants in the margin evidently derived from other sources (Bodl. MS. Rawl. Poet. 123, Bodl. MS. Add. B. 106, Bodl. MS. Tanner 306). A scribe following one of these copies would presumably have chosen whichever of the alternative readings happened to appeal to him. Also the version of the poem in Tonson's 1691 edition appears to be an eclectic text made up from the pamphlet of 1679 and one of the editions of 1680. The pamphlet supplies the basic text, and corrected readings are introduced from the edition.

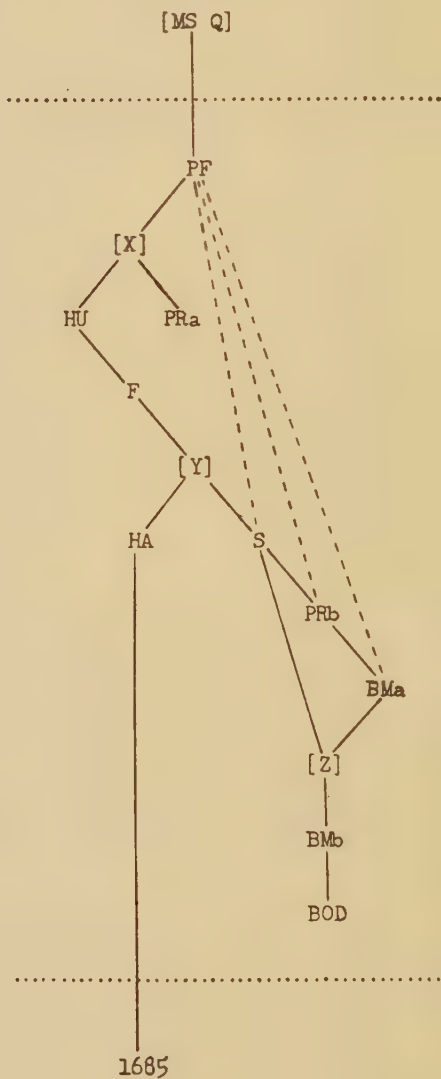
²³ 3 title, 3.2, 4.16 first reading, 4.16 second reading, 6 title, 8.7, 8.16, 9.4, 9.25, 10.15, 12.23 first reading, 12.23 second reading, 12.27, 19.21, 25.9 second

A. Stemma Diagrams

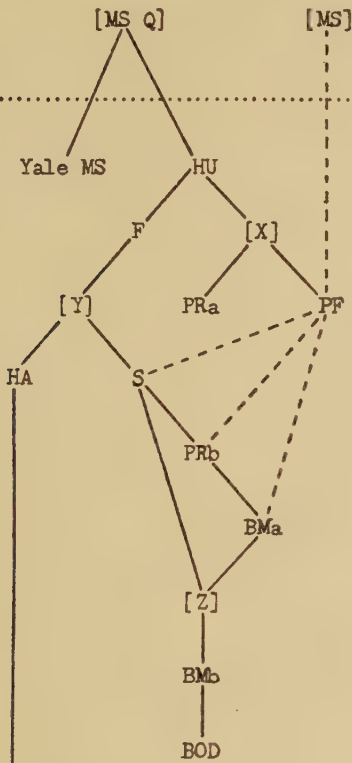
1. Thorpe's Stemma



2. Todd's Stemma



3. Stemma Revised and Augmented



Key

- [MS Q] Archetypal source
- HU Huntington
- [X] Postulated edition
- PRa Princeton A
- PF Pforzheimer
- F Folger
- [Y] Postulated edition
- HA Harvard
- S Sterling
- PRb Princeton B
- BMa British Museum A
- [Z] Postulated mixed copy
- BMb British Museum B
- BOD Bodleian

two-fifths of these variants are trivial or otherwise not significant, but the remaining three-fifths represent cases in which the HU edition preserves readings probably or certainly anterior to those in the Yale MS. In three of these readings, the HU edition supplies a total of six lines lacking in the Yale MS. Consequently, the Yale MS. and the HU edition probably stand to each other in a collateral relationship, both being derived independently from the common source designated Manuscript Q in the stemma diagrams on p. 261.

This relationship involves a complication, however, for fifty-three of the variants exhibited by HU and the Yale MS. represent cases in which both agree with the separate texts.²⁴ About three-fifths of these variants are trivial or otherwise not significant, but the remaining two-fifths indicate clearly that the portions of text shared by HU and the Yale MS. are not derived entirely from their common source. This phenomenon is unfortunately beyond the scope of the present investigation, for the problems it raises could probably be solved only by the difficult exercise of working out the individual stemmas of the affected poems. The phenomenon is most readily apparent in "The Maim'd Debauchee," which contains twelve instances of simultaneous congruence, and it is also prominent in the satire on Edward Howard beginning "Thou damn'd Antipodes to common sense," which includes three such instances. Other exam-

reading, 26.26, 27.26, 30.17, 30.20, 32 title, 32.23, 33.3, 33.5, 33.7 first reading, 33.7 second reading, 33.11, 33.14, 33.15, 33.17, 33.22 (3), 33.24, 34.2, 41.31 second reading, 43.11, 44.18, 45.13, 46.12, 46.32, 47.14, 47.20, 47.22, 48.2, 49.26, 50.16, 52.6, 52.17, 53.18, 54.1, 61.14, 67.1, 70.13, 70.15, 71.17, 87.15, 89.15, 89.16, 90.7, 90.12, 90.16, 91.20, 91.14, 101 title, 106.3, 106.13, 108.7, 109.30, 111.1, 111.2, 111.14 first reading, 112.18, 112.26 first reading, 115 title margin, 117.22, 121.1, 121.4, 125.3, 129 title margin, 141.29, 143.15, 146.11, 147.1, 147.10, 148.3, 148.23, 149.5-149.8.

²⁴ 4.16 second reading, 6 title, 8.7, 8.16, 9.4, 9.25, 10.15, 12.23 second reading, 12.27, 19.21, 25.9 second reading, 26.26, 27.26, 30.20, 32.23, 33.3, 33.5, 33.7 first reading, 33.7 second reading, 33.11, 33.14, 33.17, 33.22 (2), 33.24, 34.2, 41.31 second reading, 43.11, 44.18, 46.32, 47.14, 47.20, 47.22, 48.2, 50.16, 52.17, 53.18, 54.1, 89.16, 90.7, 90.12, 90.16, 91.20, 111.1, 111.14 first reading, 115 title margin, 117.22, 121.1, 125.3, 141.29, 147.1, 148.23, 149.5-149.8.

ples are less striking or more widely scattered and may therefore be largely accidental.

We can now arrange the printed editions and the Yale MS. in the stemma shown in A, figure 3 (page 261). The editions are restored to the arrangement indicated in Thorpe's stemma, and HU and the Yale MS. are depicted in their collateral relationship. Three broken lines are taken over from Todd's stemma to show the consultation of PF by S, PRb, and BMa, and a fourth broken line is added to indicate the consultation of manuscript sources by PF. Omitted from the diagram are the source from which HU took "On Rome's Pardons" and the source or sources other than Manuscript Q from which some additional readings passed into HU or the Yale MS. or both.

As to the priority of the HU edition there should no longer be any reasonable doubt.²⁵ It is reassuring to know that the text so handsomely reproduced by Thorpe is indeed that of the first edition of Rochester.

²⁵ I am aware that in arriving at this conclusion, I have not used all possible types of evidence. I have not, for example, investigated the accidentals in the printed editions. I am also aware that my evidence and arguments do not preclude the possibility that HU is derived from some earlier edition, now lost. The existence of such an edition would, of course, be difficult to detect.

An Unknown Work of Casanova Identified

By J. RIVES CHILDS

THE world generally knows Casanova, or Jacques Casanova de Seingalt, as he called himself, as the personification of a lover and as the prince of adventurers in a century renowned for such. A few scholars only have taken into account the more serious side of this remarkable man whose talents were well known to many of the most prominent of his contemporaries, amongst whom he enjoyed high esteem. The Prince de Ligne referred to him as "a rare man" and "an inexhaustible fountain of science"; the Count de Lamberg termed him "a man of profound knowledge" and "the worthiest of the esteem of his contemporaries and of the esteem of that posterity which judges." In our own time a Danish diplomat, Tage Bull, has summed up Casanova's many-sided attributes of abbé, soldier, violinist, chemist, sorcerer, businessman, antiquarian, historian, geometrist, industrialist, grammarian, poet, political writer, and diplomat. He was even more than these, for he was also a playwright, deeply versed in astronomy and in matters relating to the calendar, a keen student of music and the dance, a gourmet who projected a dictionary of cheeses, and whose interest extended, in short, to almost every branch of human knowledge.

The striking accomplishments of Casanova, however, have been largely ignored by the general public which associates him only with the *Memoirs*. With their publication, which began in 1823, his previous publications, which had made but little im-

pression in their time, tended to recede even more into the background. It is only recently that interest in them has begun to be revived by those diligent European scholars who came to look into his past and to assess his versatile character.¹

Aside from the *Memoirs*, Casanova is known to have been the author of approximately thirty published works, not taking into account the many manuscripts which he left. His published works include *Zoroaster* (1752), a play; *Confutazione della Storia del Governo Veneto d'Amelot de la Houssaie* (1769), a refutation of attacks made against the Government of Venice, his first important work; *Lana Caprina* (1772), a medico-philosophical work on certain aspects of the nature of women; *Istoria della Turbolenze della Polonia* (1774), a history of the Polish troubles; *Dell'Iliade d'Omero* (1778), a translation of Homer; *Scrutinio del Libro Eluges de M. de Voltaire* (1779), a polemic against Voltaire; *Opus Miscellanei* (1780), seven pamphlets containing miscellaneous notes and observations; *Lettere della Nobile Donna* (1780), a romance in the form of letters; *Messenger de Thalie* (1780), eleven pamphlets of dramatic criticism; *Di Anedotti Viniziani* (1782), an historical romance; *Né Amori, Né Donne* (1782), a satire; *Lettre historico-critique* (1784); *Exposition Raisonnée* (1785); *Supplément* (1785) to the above, the last three being pamphlets defending the cause of the Republic of Venice in its dispute with Holland; *Soliloque d'un Penseur* (1786), a polemic against adventurers in general and Cagliostro and St. Germain in particular; *Histoire de ma fuite des Prisons* (1788), the first published account of his escape from the Leads at Venice; *Icosameron* (1788), utopian romance in five volumes; *Commentars uber die drei ersten Kapitel des ersten Buches Moses* (1788), a commentary on certain portions of the Book of Moses; *Solution du Problème Deliaque* (1790), an examination into the means of

¹ Perhaps one reason for the general ignorance of Casanova's authorship of works other than the *Memoirs* is that the former are of excessive rarity. Some exist in only single copies or, at best, in only three or four. The greatest number known of any of his works, apart from the *Memoirs*, is twelve.

duplicating the cube; *A Leonard Snetlage* (1797), a pamphlet of lexicographical notes.

It must be admitted that this is no small intellectual baggage. It is also important to observe that few of these published works were signed by Casanova, in fact, only the last four, together with his translation of Homer. So far as concerns the first four, the authorship of these was claimed by Casanova in his *Memoirs* and there is no disputing their origin. It is the pamphlets and brochures intervening between the works to which he makes reference in his *Memoirs* (which, it must be remembered, terminate with the year 1774), and his signed works, appearing in 1788 and afterwards, which have presented difficulties in connection with their identification with Casanova.

Of these, the works of immediate interest to us for this present study are the *Exposition Raisonnée*, and its *Supplément*, both published under the date of 1785, and issued in the same year in Italian translations.

In February, 1784, Casanova was admitted "in the service of M. Foscari, Venetian Ambassador in Vienna to write his despatches" (Casanova, *Précis de ma vie*, published in *Pages Casanoviennes*, March, 1925, p. 143). Casanova remained in that ambassador's service until the latter's death on April 23, 1785.

At the time when Casanova found diplomatic employment, Ambassador Foscari had been charged by the Venetian Senate to settle a dispute between the Republic of Venice and the Republic of Holland which threatened to lead to war between those powers. By a strange coincidence—although perhaps not quite so strange when it is remembered that Casanova had known intimately almost every adventurer of his time in Europe—the affair which occupied Foscari was one having to do with two renowned confidence men, Steffano and Premislas Zannovitch, with whom Casanova had been personally involved in 1771.

These two brothers, of a noble family in Venetian Albania, had been brought up in Venice, and educated at the University

of Padua. When their father was banished from Venice for having made a fortune in cheating at cards, with the complicity of his sons, the two brothers determined to separate in order not to compete with one another, and to live on their wits, the one in northern, and the other in central, Europe. It was during the wanderings of Premislas Zannovitch, in search of dupes, that Casanova encountered him in 1771 in Florence. There, aided by two other rascals, Count Medini and Alois Zen and a Venetian dancer, La Lamberti, on whom Lord Lincoln, a British nobleman, had cast fond eyes, Premislas Zannovitch succeeded in winning from Lord Lincoln in a single evening at cards the enormous sum of 12,000 guineas. Of this amount, one-fourth was paid in cash the next day by the victim who, for the balance, signed three bills of exchange for equal sums payable at intervals of two months each by his London bankers.

The episode is recounted by Casanova in great detail in the final volume of his *Memoirs*. The story is told by him with some trace of bitterness, as he was accused by the authorities of being himself implicated and was, with the others, expelled from Florence. In passing it might be said that in this instance Casanova appears to have been quite innocent. In any case he could not but have felt deeply aggrieved against Zannovitch, who was the one who derived principal profit from the affair. Zannovitch proceeded to London, where he discounted the bills of exchange before returning to the Continent. Thirteen years later, by the strange whirligig of fate, Casanova, secretary of the Venetian Embassy in Vienna, was presented with the full Zannovitch dossier from official Venetian documents, which the Ambassador had been called upon to study in connection with the dispute between Venice and Holland which the two brothers had occasioned by their chicanery.

For Casanova the file must have appeared as a heaven-sent opportunity to give scope for his pamphleteering skill, and thereby bring himself to the favorable notice of the Venetian

Government, while at the same time affording him an opportunity of revenge against his old antagonist, Premislas Zannovitch.

Casanova's first essay in presenting the facts of the controversy is to be found in a pamphlet entitled *Lettre Historico-Critique sur un fait connu, dependant d'une cause peu connue, Addressée au Duc de ****. The brochure of 56 pages, bearing mention at the end: "A Hambourg, 12 Mai 1784," is known only in the single copy found among Casanova's papers at Dux in Bohemia, where he died at the castle of Count Waldstein in 1798. It appears to have been published clandestinely after the censors had refused permission for its appearance. Two manuscript copies, containing a few minor variations in the text, were likewise found at Dux. These manuscript copies bear the significant title "Lettre d'Eupolème au Prince B. de H.D.R. pour servir d'instruction à un article du Supplement de la Gazette de Leide No. VI de cette année. Hambourg, 1784."

Aside from various proofs which have established, in the eyes of scholars, the irrefutable authorship of the published pamphlets by Casanova, it suffices to state that "Eupolème Pantaxenos" was the name by which Casanova went in the Arcadian Society of Rome of which he was a member (Casanova, *Correspondance avec J. F. Opiz* [Leipzig, 1913], I, 20). The text of the manuscript was published in *Vogue* (Paris, 1886), Nos. 8 and 9, and parts have been reproduced in Maynial et Vèze, *Fin d'un aventurier* (Paris, 1952), pp. 66-71. Here is how Casanova recounts the inception of the dispute which, at the time he was writing, threatened to provoke a war by Holland against Casanova's native Venice:

A young so-called Count Zannovitch, native of Budna in Venetian Albania, bold, flighty, eloquent, wastrel, prodigal, obsequious, insinuating, liar, endowed with a prodigious memory, possessing in short all the qualities necessary for a thorough rascal, presented himself in 1772 to Messrs. Chomel and Jordan, Amsterdam merchants, with a letter of recommen-

dation from the Lyons merchants, Grenier Arles & Co., who described him as Count Chind de Zannovitch, Venetian nobleman, and as a consequence gave him the title of Excellency.

The merchants, Chomel and Jordan, taken in by the engaging manners of this crook, became in a short time his intimate friends and made no trouble about advancing him the sum of 27,000 florins. He had given them a bill of Lord Lincoln for 3,500 sequins, payable in three years, and the most positive assurances in honeyed phrases that one of his vessels, loaded with wine, which he would turn over to them, was expected to enter any day in the Texel. The bill of exchange of the Lord, which was sent to London, was pronounced false; the Genoa bills of exchange were protested, and the vessel loaded with wine never arrived. It was not difficult for His Excellency, Count Chind, to persuade the merchants, his dear friends, that in proceeding himself to investigate on the spot, everything would be arranged. They were of his opinion, gave him letters of recommendation, begged him to continue to give them his patronage, and allowed him to depart. They were never to see him again, but received from him a number of letters, proper to amuse them.

This droll fellow was in Naples: through his cunning he succeeded in insinuating himself into the confidence and friendship of M. Cavalli, who was then Resident of the Republic of Venice at that Court. He presented to this Minister a man to whom he gave the name of Nicolo Peovitch, in assuring him that he was the head of a firm so named, rich and flourishing, and without doubt the most substantial of all the existing firms in all of Dalmatia. He represented, clear as the day, to the honest Resident that this firm was in a position to undertake a most advantageous commerce with Holland if it could be put in relations with a good firm in Amsterdam. He suggested the firm, Chomel and Jordan, which was not known to M. Cavalli, but which would nevertheless have the greatest consideration for the firm of Peovitch once it was recommended by him.

The Resident, in good faith, found no difficulty in recommending to the Amsterdam merchants a firm which was the child of this creative genius. He praised it highly; he had the weakness to tell them that he knew it, and assured them that they could have in it every confidence conformable with its merit. It was thus that he fell into the trap, and it is not to be wondered at, for his ruling passion was an increase in commerce of the Venetian State.

It is of interest to note that we are now in the year 1774.

The merchants, Chomel and Jordan, delighted to have received a recommendation from a Minister of the Republic of Venice, began to treat with this imaginary firm which the intriguing Zannovitch made real to them, having made his own brother play the role of the so-called Nicolo Peovitch. The first transaction of Peovitch, which earned the entire confidence of the Amsterdam firm, was to take on himself the debt of Zannovitch, who had written to them that he was going to retire to Istria to put order in his affairs and to reconcile himself with his father. Full of admiration for the probity of their former friend, who had discharged the debt he owed them of 27,000 florins so faithfully, they gave him a general release, and from that moment he passed out of their mind. They began to occupy themselves seriously with the firm of Peovitch, which became the object of the principal part of their business.

They awaited the *Minerva*, a large vessel purporting to belong to this phantom, with a very valuable cargo, on which they had taken out assurance in his name for the sum of 150,000 florins. The *Minerva*, which Zannovitch had created out of nothing in order to resubmerge it by means of a shipwreck, suffered its fate, and the insurance company was called upon to reimburse the 150,000 florins for which they had insured it. But the intractable insurers refused to be persuaded . . . Certificates of the life and death of the vessel were presented but there was never a possibility of offering that attesting its birth; for the *Minerva* of Nicolo Peovitch was born in the brain of Zannovitch, as the Minerva of Homer in that of Jupiter.

There came a time when every hope was lost of proving that the vessel in question, before perishing, had ever existed, and at the beginning of 1779, Messrs. Chomel and Jordan saw the firm of Nicolo Peovitch disappear likewise which, in its brief existence, had cost them 6,000 florins which, with the sum of 27,000 florins, comprised 33,000 which they decided thereupon to demand of M. Cavalli, who was then Resident in Milan.

They wrote to him a number of times in order to demonstrate that it was incumbent upon him to reimburse them. He replied, always in the same vein, that he could never have thought that his recommendation would have been such as to make them neglect all those measures which merchants take to protect themselves against frauds, measures which he could not suggest to them, as he was not familiar with them. He recalled that at the end of the year 1774 they had written to Grenier and Arlès of Lyon that Zannovitch owed them nothing and that at this same time

they had been warned both by M. Arlès, as well as by himself, to take all precautions. M. Arlès had informed them that Peovitch was a false name, and that the person who bore it was the very brother of Zannovitch.

The merchants, Chomel and Jordan, were anticipating this reasoning; but determined not to be bound by it, they had formulated another project the success of which appeared undeniable. "If", said they, "M. Cavalli had capital in Holland we would sequester it, but he has none. Let us consider him insolvent, and inasmuch as he is a Minister of the State of Venice let us act so that it is the State, his principal, which indemnifies us . . . The Senate whom he serves, must consider making good our loss."

Whereupon they acquaint the higher authorities with the facts, they implore their protection, and obtain it. The States General found their claim so just that they caused it to be transmitted to the Venetian Senate by way of their Minister in that city.

It is deserving of remark that the claim as presented to Venice was no longer one simply of 33,000 florins but that of 400,000 florins.

The States General became thus the protectors of the merchants. This little dispute became an affair of state, of the kind that subordinate officials could not judge, but which had to be treated finally between sovereigns.

A criminal court of twenty-five Venetian senators, who had all sat in the Council of Ten, created by a decree of August 15, 1777, began proceedings against the Resident Cavalli with all the rigor of the laws. At the end of fifty sessions, the members of this awe-inspiring tribunal who, inaccessible to the world, had ears only for the complaints read to them, containing all the details of the affair, declared the accused neither criminal nor culpable towards the State, for having been wanting *in munere*, nor as having abused his office. He was acquitted and exempt from any harsh penalty which might have left the inference that he had been wanting in his duties. He was not discharged from his official duties, while it was left to the Dutch merchants or to the Dutch Government the possibility of bringing suit against the said Cavalli before a civil magistrate. The same court condemned Zannovitch, his brother and all his accomplices, to perpetual banishment from the States of the Venetian Republic.

The High Authorities [i.e., the States General] saw fit, already on May 12, 1782, to recall their Resident, M. Tor. Thereupon the Venetian Senate instructed their Ambassador in Vienna to beg His Majesty Imperial for the honor of his mediation in this matter, and the Ambassador obtained even more than the Senate had sought; for His Imperial Majesty offered to be the arbiter, and the Venetian Senate accepted the offer, submitting itself willingly to a judgment which it considered the most honorable. Count Wassenaer, Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Their High Authorities [the States General] at the Court of Vienna, was authorized to accept not only the mediation of His Imperial Majesty but also his arbitration in the matter of the indemnity to be given the merchants, Chomel and Jordan.

All this is from the pen of Casanova, it must be remembered. As secretary of the Venetian Embassy in Vienna he would hardly have dared misrepresent the position of the Austrian Emperor. The position of the Dutch Minister in the matter is less clear, for we read further in Casanova's account:

... from a reading of the resolution of the States General we learn that Count de Wassenaer wrote to Their High Authorities that it had not pleased His Majesty Imperial to assume this mediation and that in consequence of this refusal they were determined to follow the advice of their minister, Count de Wassenaer, given in his letter of May 28, 1784. He informed them in this letter that the shortest and surest way of protecting the honor of the Republic in this affair, to bring the Venetians to reason, and especially to procure for the Dutch citizens, treated in this controversy with such signal iniquity, the just payment due them, as well as an equitable indemnity, would be to prevent the departure of all Venetian vessels from the ports of the Republic ...

When the Venetian Senate received notice of the order emanating from the States General to seize Venetian vessels and to commit all the other hostile actions implied in the resolution, for the purpose of bringing it to reason, that respectable assembly gave consideration to every other expedient than that to which Holland would first have had recourse. "No reprisals," said the Venetian Senate; "if we wish to obtain a large profit for our own navigators, we could issue an order similar to that of Holland, and for each vessel impounded in our merchant marine, one might seize four of their's, and our naval forces could inflict much more damage

in the waters of the Levant against them, than they could inflict upon us in the Mediterranean. But God preserve us from that. The innocent nationals of the two Powers would bear principally the weight of our quarrel. Let us give full powers to our Ambassador in Vienna, and let us instruct him to negotiate with the Minister of the States General who is at the same Court, and let us act so that the affair may be settled amicably; but, above all, the wisdom of the States General will recognize that it is absolutely necessary that the order given to commit hostilities against our nationals should be withdrawn for, otherwise, the negotiations of the two Ministers at Vienna cannot be animated by that friendly spirit which should be the guiding principle of a perfect understanding."

This reply of the Senate was communicated by the Venetian Ambassador to the Minister Plenipotentiary of the States General and Their High Authorities have suspended the order to seize Venetian vessels.

This was how the matter rested when Casanova drafted the *Lettre historico-critique*, from the manuscript of which the above extracts are taken. It is not our purpose to follow the history of this diplomatic dispute to its conclusion. Suffice it to say that as a result of the intervention of Emperor Joseph II a conflict was at length avoided, Holland was persuaded to renounce the claims it had advanced, and a war between Venice and Holland over the activities of a Venetian confidence man was averted.

The *Lettre historico-critique* appears to have been translated into French by a certain Behrisch in Dessau. A short while later Casanova himself succeeded in obtaining publication of the text in French under the title, *Exposition Raisonnée du Différent qui subsiste entre les deux Républiques de Vénise et d'Hollande*. The brochure, dated 1785, consists of v, 79 pages, and is of a format measuring 19 x 11 centimeters. It was quickly followed by a *Supplément à l'Exposition Raisonnée qui subsiste entre la République de Vénise, & celle de Hollande*. This pamphlet is likewise dated 1785, is of 69 pages, and of identical format with the first. No printer is indicated for either one, but he would appear to have been the same. A single copy only of each pamphlet is known, both of which are in the library of the University of Zagreb.

Coincident with their publication, or at about the same time, Casanova contributed to the *Osservatore Triestino* between January 22 and February 26, 1785, a number of articles relating to the dispute. A distinguished Casanovist, Carlo L. Curiel, has established the fact that the texts of these articles are largely conformable with parts of the *Lettre historico-critique*, the *Exposition Raisonnée* which replaced it, and the *Supplément* to that latter (Curiel, "Une truffa storica e tre scritti sconosciute di G. Casanova," *Marzocco*, February 17, 1924, and "Giacomo Casanova, corrispondente dell'Osservatore Triestino," *Piccolo della Sera*, March 22, 1924).

The *Exposition* and the *Supplément* were also both translated into Italian under the respective titles of: *Esposizione Ragionata della contestazione Che sussiste tra le due Repubbliche di Venezia e di Olanda*, and *Supplimento alla Esposizione Ragionata della Controversia Che sussiste tra la Repubblica di Venezia e quella d'Olanda*. Both are dated 1785 but with no place or name of printer indicated, and both are of a format measuring 19 x 12 centimeters. The one is of 68 pages numbered from III to LXX; the other of 69 pages numbered from III to LXIX.

In the summer of 1954 I was in Milan searching for original editions of Casanova, and I was fortunate to find with Signor Vigevani a copy of the *Supplimento*. The same bookdealer exhibited to me a further pamphlet on the subject of the controversy between Venice and Holland which he stated he was of the opinion was also from the pen of Casanova, although never remarked by any bibliographer. I decided to take a chance and purchase it.

The pamphlet is identical in size with the *Esposizione* and its companion, the *Supplimento*. It is dated the same year, 1785, and has the same blue contemporary cover as that of the *Supplimento*. The pages number 48. The title reads: *Lettera ai Signori Giovanni e Stefano Luzac Contenente alcune Osservazioni sopra la NARRAZIONE dell'affare che ha prodotto la differenza vertente fra la Re-*

pubblica di Venezia e quella di Olanda, pubblicata nei Numeri XXI e XXII della Loro Gazzetta. On the last page at the end of the text there is to be found:

“Li 30. Aprile

L.A.S.D.V.”

The Gazette, of course, is the *Gazette de Leyden*, and I wrote to the National Library at the Hague on the off chance of having some light thrown on this unknown pamphlet. My expectations were not wholly realized, but they were in part. I was informed by Mr. P. C. Soeters, who replied on behalf of the Librarian, that the numbers of the *Gazette* to which the pamphlet made reference were the supplements to those of March 15 and 18, 1785. He added:

Your Italian pamphlet is a translation of an article in the *Gazette de Cologne* of April 19, 1785. It was signed L.A.S.D.V. About the meaning of these initials I cannot give you any information. In Holland the “letter” was published in the original French version with a commentary by an unknown defender of the Dutch point of view. The title is: Lettre d’un Vénétien (L.A.S.D.V.) à Mrs. Jean et Etienne L., avec quelques notes et éclaircissements propre à jeter un jour sur le différent qui existe entre la République des Provinces Unies et celle de Vénise. La Haye, 1785. A Dutch version was published at Utrecht in the same year.

Why, it may be asked, if Casanova were the author, would he have chosen the *Gazette de Cologne* to launch his reply to the editors of the *Gazette de Leyden*? The answer is not far to seek. The *Gazette de Cologne*, founded in 1737, and published in French, the language of the cultivated classes of Europe, was established by its editor, Roderique, in rivalry with the newspapers in the French language of France and Holland which were invading Germany. It quickly won a wide public and came to be referred to frequently in the diplomatic correspondence of the time. Casanova could hardly have expected that the *Gazette de Leyden* would publish his letter. What more natural than for him to

turn to one of its greatest European rivals, the *Gazette de Cologne*, which had such a wide circulation in the diplomatic and political world?

But, it may be asked, where is the evidence that Casanova was, in fact, the author?

There is, first of all, the physical identity of the *Lettera* pamphlet with the *Esposizione* and the *Supplimento*. Secondly, the subject matter is the same, namely, the dispute between Venice and Holland. It is significant, moreover, that the *Lettera* quotes in full the two letters of the Venetian Minister, Cavalli, to Chomel and Jordan, which were available to Casanova and to few others in the archives of the Venetian Embassy in Vienna. Thirdly, and most important, the *Lettera* makes repeated mention of the *Esposizione Ragionata*, of which Casanova is known to have been the author, a pamphlet which could have been known to but few at the time. Fourthly, the Dutch reply identifies the author of the *Lettera* as a Venetian. What Venetian is more indicated than Casanova?

But there is still further proof and, this time, it is, I think, of a conclusive character.

Early in my examination of the *Lettera* I felt that the key to the mystery of its authorship was to be found in the signature letters at the end, "L.A.S.D.V." As I have pointed out, there are few signed works by Casanova. The *Icosameron*, which he was to publish in 1788, is signed "Jacques Casanova de Seingalt, Vénétien." This was how Casanova frequently identified himself. Note that there are here five initials, "J. C. D. S. V." and that there are five initials signed to the *Lettera*.

In 1918 I was Chief of the Cipher Bureau in the American Expeditionary Forces at General Headquarters. It was my business to decipher German ciphers. What if the letters "L.A.S.-D.V." were a cipher? Now to constitute a cipher they must present a pattern. I began to test the letters according to the simplest

methods known to cryptographers. In a few minutes I had the key. Here it is:

		D		
		E		
		F		
		G		
		H		
		I		
		J		
		K		
		L		
		M		
		N		
		O		
		P		
		Q		
J		R		
K		S		
L	A		D	V
	B		E	
	C		F	
			G	
			H	
			I	
			J	
			K	
			L	
			M	
			N	
			O	
			P	
			Q	
			R	
			S	

Note that the letter "L" is two letters in the alphabet *after* "J," standing for "Jacques"; the letter "A" is two letters *before* "C," or Casanova; the letter "S" is fifteen letters *after* "D,"

representing "de"; and the letter "D" is fifteen letters *before* "S," or Seingalt. The letter "V" has not been enciphered.

Taken with all the other evidence offered, there could hardly be more conclusive proof than this.

Why, it may be asked, the use of the numbers two and fifteen? This may have been quite arbitrary, but I do not think so. It seems probable that Casanova chose the number two as representing the two initials "J.C." (Jacques Casanova), and fifteen, as representing the fifteen letters of his given and family name.

It is certainly quite in keeping with the sly philosopher and lover of the occult that he should have employed a cipher to conceal his name.

One final observation is in order. The original letter in French was published on April 19, 1785. On April 23, 1785, Ambassador Foscari, Casanova's patron, was dead. Casanova was faced again with the problem of finding other employment. He was no doubt actuated in giving the letter a wide circulation by a desire to ingratiate himself with the Venetian Government. After Foscari's death the necessity became even more pressing. Hence, no doubt, his decision to publish the letter in Italian.

His purpose was not fulfilled, but in one thing he succeeded, that of demonstrating that, in addition to all his other accomplishments, he was no mean pamphleteer.

Bibliographical Notes

*The Will of John Martyn, "Printer to the Royal Society"**

Among the sources which have contributed to the knowledge of English printing history are the stationers' wills. They indicate not only family ties but the financial status of the deceased, their loyalty to their fellow associates and guild. Such documentary material therefore becomes an integral part of English social and cultural history.

John Martyn, "Printer to the Royal Society," died on July 3, 1680, "between four and five of the clock in the afternoon." Martyn had been intermittently ill since the preceding March, when he had been visited at his home in Bow Lane, London, by his close friend and customer, the scientist Robert Hooke. He apparently recovered sufficiently to conduct his business at the "Bell," St. Paul's Churchyard, during the spring months. In June he suffered a relapse. In the hope of recovery, Martyn, in the company of his wife Sarah, visited his brother-in-law, Zacharia Graunt of Brockley in the parish of Deptford near London, at whose home he died. According to Dunton, Martyn "made a very pious end." He was buried on July 13, 1680.¹

Shortly prior to his death Martyn had drawn up his will which he directed Graunt to have executed after his death. Since Martyn's will lacked witnesses and official endorsement, it required authentication. On July 16, 1680, three days after his interment, Martyn's brother-in-law, Graunt; his nephew, Thomas Kelsey, Jr., a goldsmith of the Parish of St. Peter the Poor, London; and John Kersey, apprentice of the deceased, attested to the veracity of the document and the identity of the testator. The will was finally probated on December 20, 1680, before

* I wish to thank Dr. C. William Miller of Temple University, Philadelphia, who placed at my disposal a transcript of the original will, the manuscript of which is deposited at Somerset House, London, Prerogative Court of Canterbury Manuscripts, 168 Hyde, 1680.

¹ Henry W. Robinson and Walter Adams, eds., *The Diary of Robert Hooke* (London, 1935), 440, 444, 448; John Dunton, *The Life and Errors* (London, 1818), 212; Leona Rostenberg, "John Martyn, 'Printer to the Royal Society,'" *PBSA*, XLVI (1952), 30.

the surrogate Richard Lloyd and Sir Leoline Jenkins, Judge of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.

Martyn's first stipulation refers to his interment. Like several of his predecessors at the "Bell," Robert Toye and George Bishop, Martyn was buried, according to his instructions, at St. Faith's in the recently restored chapel. Here a monument was erected to his memory depicting him kneeling and at his side a stack of books.²

The books which symbolize Martyn's activity had been published during a business career of thirty years. Many of them, representing the achievements of members of the Royal Society and exponents of the new science, were issued alone by Martyn or in collaboration with fellow stationers whose names are mentioned in his will. To "M^r Henry Herringman M^r Sam: Mearne M^r John Maycock M^r Thomas Newcombe Sen^r and M^r Walter Kettleby . . . I leave five pounds apeice to buy them a ring in remembrance of me." Henry Herringman of the "Blue Anchor" in the Lower Walk of the New Exchange, wholesale publisher, and Samuel Mearne of Little Britain, Warden of the Stationers' Company and binder of repute, had published numerous works in association with Martyn: *Fifty Tragedies and Comedies* of Beaumont and Fletcher; *Hudibras*, the first and second Parts of Butler; the archaeological and juridical studies of William Dugdale; the *Essayes* and *The Historie of the Reigne of King Henry the Seventh* of Bacon, and the writings of Sarpi, Verstegen, Ross, Brerewood and others. The printers, John Macock and Thomas Newcomb of Addle Hill and the King's Printing House in the Savoy, had executed for Martyn editions of the works of Euclid, Evelyn, Blount, etc. With Walter Kettilby, the "eminent episcopal bookseller," Martyn had issued Grew's *Comparative Anatomy of the Trunks of Plants* and the writings of the Cambridge Platonist, Henry More. To his "cozen Mark Pardoe," the bookseller at the "Black Raven" and likewise a publisher of scientific treatises, Martyn bequeathed 150 pounds forgiving him "all that he owes me."³

² Henry R. Plomer, *Abstracts from the Wills of English Printers and Stationers, from 1492 to 1630* (London, 1903), 12, 43; John Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1812-1815), III, 598, n. 1; Rostenberg, *op. cit.*, 30.

³ For Herringman, Mearne and Kettilby, see Henry R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1668 to 1725* (London, 1922), 96, 126, 178; also C. William Miller, "Henry Herringman, Restoration Bookseller-Publisher," *PBSA*, XLII (1948), 292-306; for Macock and Newcomb, see Henry R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1641*

Of unusual interest are Martyn's legacies to his "brother-in-law M^r Will Ffaythorne and wife ten pounds apeice for mourning . . . to Henry Ffaythorne one hundred pounds . . . to Will Ffaythorne my wives Godson twenty five pounds." From this evidence the distinguished line engraver, William Faithorne, Sr., was the brother-in-law of Martyn. In all likelihood the relationship between the two men existed through Mrs. Martyn, since the artist's wife is reputed to have been a Miss Grand, sister of a certain Captain Grand.⁴

After Faithorne's return to London from Paris in 1650 he married and set up shop as a print seller, first "att ye signe of ye shipp within Temple Barr" and later "next to the sign of the Drake, close to Palsgrave's Head Tavern, without Temple Barr." In 1661 Martyn, in partnership with James Allestry and Thomas Dicas, published Faithorne's *Art of Graveing and Etching*. Pepys and Hooke, customers of Martyn, likewise frequented the engraver's shop. Hooke writes on August 1, 1674: "Saw Faithornes proof at Martins." On February 8, 1678, he reports: "Faithorne showed me the first plate of Malpighius." It was Martyn who published the splendid set of the *Anatome Plantarum Observationes* of the Bolognese physiologist, Marcello Malpighi, the plates of which had been engraved in part by Faithorne. The artist's hand is evidenced in other books issued by his brother-in-law: Hooke's *Micrographia*, the *Institutio Philosophiae* of Anthoine Le Grand, numbers of the *Philosophical Transactions*, etc. Among the stock of the Master of the "Bell" is listed *Cards containing the Arms of the King and all the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of England*. These were in all probability engraved by Faithorne, who provided the booksellers with maps and cards.⁵

to 1667 (London, 1907), 121, 136; for books printed, see Donald G. Wing, *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland* (New York, 1945-1951), B1582, B6311, B6312, D2480, D2483, D2489, B287, B299, S696, V271, R1968, R1969, B4378, B4379, E3392, the 1664 *Kalendarium Hortense* not listed, B3336, G1947: the *Philosophical Transactions*, December 27, 1675, cites the work: "Printed by the Assigns of John Martyn for Walter Kettelby," M2633, M2634, M2641; for Pardoe, see Plomer, *op. cit.*, 1668-1725, 229.

⁴ For Faithorne, see Malcolm C. Salaman, *The Old Engravers of England* (Philadelphia, 1907), 44; Horace Walpole, *A Catalogue of Engravers* (London, 1782), V, 108.

⁵ *A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers, From 1640-1708 A.D.* (London, 1913), II, 307; Robinson and Adams, *op. cit.*, 115, 396; Wing M345, H2620, L954, the *Philosophical Transactions*, No. 56, February 17, 1669/70, includes the map "A Narrative of the Conjunction of the Ocean and the Mediterranean, by a Channel, in France," which is engraved by "W. Faithorne"; Edward Arber, *The Term Catalogues 1668-1709* (London, 1903), I, 304; see Salaman, *op. cit.*, 38, and Walpole, *op. cit.*, 122.

To the engraver's talented younger son, William, Jr., his wife's godson and the future mezzotint artist, Martyn bequeathed twenty pounds, but to his older brother Henry he left the more substantial sum of 100 pounds. This generous token had obviously been prompted by the close association between the two men. Henry Faithorne had been apprenticed to his uncle from May, 1672 to May, 1679. With his legacy young Faithorne was able to set up shop in 1681 at the "Rose," St. Paul's Churchyard. He selected as his partner John Kersey, who had worked with him as a fellow apprentice from October, 1673, until October, 1680, after his employer's death. Like his uncle, Henry Faithorne served for a short time as printer to the Royal Society.⁶

In respect to his profession Martyn left to "the Company of Stationers twenty pounds to buy a peice of plate." His wish was fulfilled, and Mrs. Martyn presented to the Company a silver bowl weighing 69 ounces, 18 pennyweight.⁷

The additional provisions of Martyn's will include twenty-five pounds to St. Bartholomew's Hospital "whereof I am a member," and various donations to members of his family. The twenty-three legacies stipulated by the Master of the "Bell" amount to 810 pounds. These bequests do not include an annual five pounds derived from the rental of his house to be paid to his cousin John Pardoe during his lifetime. Martyn's sizable capital does not represent the value of his real and personal property or his stock. His books were eventually sold by Mrs. Martyn to the London importer, Robert Scott, who after considerable negotiation paid her 160 pounds.⁸

Martyn's will reflects the comfortable status of a successful Restoration London stationer. From it emerges the cordial relationship among the associates of the trade and the members of Martyn's professional and artistic family circle. The spirit of the Master of the "Bell" is re-animated in "this . . . his last will and Testament," and in the bounty which he bequeathed to those who knew him.

⁶ For the apprenticeship of Henry Faithorne and John Kersey, see *Calendar of Masters and Apprentices, 1649-90* (MS, Stationers' Hall, London); Plomer, *op. cit.*, 1668-1725, 114, 178.

⁷ Nichols, *op. cit.*, III, 598, n. 1.

⁸ A minimum total of bequests by Martyn has been indicated. He refers in the will to the "Daughters of M^r Thomas Malory . . . Twenty pounds apeice." In arriving at a total two daughters only have been assigned to Mr. Malory: hence a bequest of 40 pounds. It may very well be that Mr. Malory was blessed with numerous daughters. For the disposal of Martyn's books, see Rostenberg, *op. cit.*, 30 f., also Rostenberg, "Robert Scott, Restoration Stationer and Importer," *PBSA*, XLVIII (1954), 49 ff.

In the name of God Almighty and all mercifull I John Martyn being mindfull of my owne mortality and being sick but in perfect mind doe by this my last will and Testament thus dispose my selfe and the estate God hath blessed me with my soule I bequeath to the Imortall God my maker father of our Lord Jesus Christ my blessed Redeemer and mediator through his all sole sufficient satisfacion for the sinns of the whole world and efficient for his elect in the number of whome (I hope) I am one by his iuste grace my body I bequeath to the earth to be buried in S^t Ffaiths, or great S^t Bartholomew London, further I the said J:M: doe constitute and ordaine my dear and most loveing wife to be my sole Executrix and I doe give her all my plate and all my broad peices of gold and meadalls of silver Item I desire M^r Henry Heringman M^r Sam: Mearne M^r John Maycock M^r Thomas Newcombe Sen^r and M^r Walter Kettleby to ayde and assist her in this my last will and Testament and to each person I leave five pounds apeice to buy them a ring in remembrance of me. To my cozen Marke Pardoe I forgive him all that he owes me as alsoe I give him one hundred and fifty pounds. To John Pardoe quarterly Twenty five shillings during his life out of the Lease of my house To Elizabeth Parkes wife of Richard Parkes I forgive all that they owe me whether bills bonds or Judgments, and I give to Elizabeth the wife of Richard Parkes one hundred pounds to be soe settled on her and her heires that her husband may not have to doe anything with it. To the Daughters of M^r Thomas Malory that he had by my owne sister Mary Twenty pounds apeice but to that Daughter of theirs that went beyond sea her 20.^{pd} shall be disposed of as her Brother in Law M^r Middlewhite shall thinke fitting Item I give to my sister Malory eldest Daughter M^{rs} Middlethought Thirty pound To my Brother in Law M^r Thomas Kelsey and wife ten pounds apeice for mourning To Brother in Law M^r Will Ffaythorne and wife ten pounds apeice for mourning To my Brother in Law M^r Zachary Graunt ten pounds for mourning Item I give to Henry Ffaythorne one hundred pounds and to his sister Judith one hundred pounds to my cozen Rebecca Kelsey fifty pounds Item I give Mark Ffenton fifty pounds Item I give to Will Ffaythorne my wives [*sic*] son twenty pounds Item I give to Sarah Graunt my wives God Daughter twenty five pounds Item I give to the Company of Stationers twenty pounds to buy a peice of plate Item I give to S^t Bartholomew Hospitall whereof I am a member Twenty five pound John Martyn.

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Upon which day personally appeared Zacharia Grant now of Brockly in the parish of Deptford in Kent Thomas Kelsey of S^t Peters the poore London Goldsmith and John Kersey the late household servant and apprentice of M^r John Martyn late of the parish of S^t faith London stationer deceased but dying at Brockley aforesaid, and by vertue of their corporall oathes did depose that they did respectively very well know the said M^r John Martyn deceased and did often see him write Letters noates bills and write his name to severall writeings and papers upon severall occasions and thereby did become very well acquainted

with his hand writeing and haveing perused the will hereunto annexed beginning In the Name of God Almighty and all mercifull I John Martyn *etc* and ending To St Bartholomew Hospitall whereof I am a member twenty five pound and subscribed John Martyn doe verily beleive by vertue of their respective Oathes that all the said will from the beginning to the ending and alsoe the subscription John Martyn is and are wholly written and subscribed with the proper hand writeing of the said John Martyn deceased and the said Zacharia Grant doth further depose that about eight or ten dayes before the death of the said deceased he the said John Martyn being then at Brockley aforesaid where he dyed and the said Deponent being in the house with the said deceased he the said John Martyn did borrow a pen and ink of this Deponent in the roome called the dinning roome and tooke the said paper or will aforesaid out of his pocket and laid it before him and seemed to peruse it, or looke very seriously upon it. and this Deponent walking up and down in the said Dinning roome whilst he was soe looking upon it did rest his Eye severall times upon it and did observe the razures and blottings that now appeare upon it and doth verily beleieve this is the same paper or writeing he the said John Martyn had soe then before him and he told this Deponent that the said paper did containe the articles of his will and then p^{re}sently folded it up and put it into his pockett againe and upon the thursday before the death of the said deceased being the first of July instant he caused this deponent to be called out of his bed between nine and ten of the clock at night and told him he found himselfe very ill and that when he was dead he the said Deponent should look in his pockett and he should there find a paper which he should p^{re}sently take out and read and this Deponent doth declare by vertue of his Oath that the said deceased departed this life upon the third day of the said moneth of July instant between four and five of the clock in the afternoon and this Deponent did immediately after his death put his hand into his pockett of the deceased in the breeches he had then upon his body (he dying in his cloathes) being upon his bed set up with pillowes and did out of one of the said pocketts take forth the said will and did presently read it it over in the p^{re}sence of M^{rs} Sarah Martin the relict of the said deceased and of M^r Thomas [Kelsey] Sen and M^{rs} Rebecca Kelsey his wife and M^r Thomas Kelsey the younger and the said Zacharia Grant and the said Thomas Kelsey the younger depose that they doe verily beleive the said will annexed was at the time when he the said Grant soe tooke it out of his pockett raised and interlined and blotted in every particular as now it appeares. In wittnesse whereof they have subscribed their names and made Oath of the truth of the premisses. Zach: Graunt Thomas Kelsey Jun John Kersey 16 Julij 1680. Proved at London twentieth day of London month of December sixteen hundred and eighty before Richard Lloyd knight, Doctor of Laws, Surrogate and Leoline Jenkins knight, Doctor of Laws, Judge of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury . . . ordaining Sarah Martyn Executrix of this will. (Translation from Latin "probatum" clause.)

LEONA ROSTENBERG

A Checklist of Early Printing on the Island of Antigua
(1748-1800)

In the course of preparing a bibliography of eighteenth-century printing on the island of Antigua, B.W.I., I made a checklist of all items known to have been printed, or suspected of having been printed, on the island before 1800. That list appears here, not as a definitive bibliography, but rather in the hope that it will evoke further information such as locations of copies not now located, additions and corrections, and accurate descriptions of titles not seen by the compiler. For help in tracking down these examples I am indebted to Frederick R. Goff, John Eliot Alden, Barney Chesnick, Robert E. Moody, Miss Dorothy C. Barck, Oscar Wegelin, William A. Jackson, the staff of the John Carter Brown Library and, of course, Clarence S. Brigham.

Several of the works listed here are known only from mention of them in Lowell J. Ragatz, *A Guide for the Study of British Caribbean History, 1763-1834* . . . (Washington, D. C., 1932). Dr. Ragatz informs me that his notes for that volume have long since been destroyed. The checklist also contains a few titles the only reference for which I have found in Sabin or in Frank Cundall, *Bibliography of the West Indies (Excluding Jamaica)* (Kingston, 1909).

Copies which I have examined, or of which I have obtained adequate descriptions, are designated by an asterisk (*) appended to the serial number assigned to them. Frequently, in the cases of such books, the title-page information has been considerably condensed. In all other cases, however, I have given all the information available. A few blank forms have been included in the list, largely because Antiguan printing is so scarce that I have thought it advisable to record everything that might shed any light on early printing on the island. Newspapers are listed separately, but no attempt has been made here to give a meticulous record of proprietorships.

1749

- 1.* [Shervington, William]. Occasional Poems. Antigua, Printed by T. Smith, for the Author. MDCCXLIX.

British Museum, New-York Historical Society, Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach.

Photostat: Yale, New York Public Library.

- 2.* [Blank form: Ship's clearance paper]. Antigua, By His Excellency

William Mathew. . . . [Antigua?, Printed by Thomas Smith?, 1749 or earlier, as a copy was used on 23 September 1749].

Swan.

1750

- 3.* [Martin, Samuel]. An Essay Upon Plantership, Humbly inscribed To all the Planters of the British Sugar-Colonies in America. By an Old Planter. Antigua, Printed by T. Smith, 1750.

New York Public.

- 4.* ——— An Essay Upon Plantership. . . . The Second Edition, corrected and enlarged. Antigua, Printed by T. Smith, 1750.

Library Company of Philadelphia (Ridgeway).

- 5.* [Theobald, John]. *Medulla Medicinae Universae: Or, A New Compendious Dispensatory.* . . . London, Printed; Antigua, Reprinted by T. Smith, in St. John's, 1750.

University of Pennsylvania; Library of the College of Physicians, Philadelphia.

1753

- 6.* [Kinnersley, Ebenezer]. St. John's, April 25, 1753. For the Entertainment of the Curious . . . A Course of Experiments On the newly-discovered Electric Fire . . . By Ebenezer Kinnersley . . . [Broadside]. [Antigua, Printed by Benjamin Mecom? 1753].

Library of Congress.

Reproduced in Douglas C. McMurtrie's *Early Printing on the Island of Antigua . . . With a facsimile of a hitherto unrecorded broadside of 1753, preserved in the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., and a report on two pamphlets printed at St. John's*. Evanston, Ill., Privately printed, 1943. 7 pp.

1752-1756

- 7.* [Anon.] An English Grammar . . . St. John's, in Antigua, Printed for the Author by Benjamin Mecom.

American Antiquarian Society.

1754?

- 7a. [Shervington, William?]. [A Sermon Preached before the Free and Accepted Masons, in the Town of St. John's, Antigua, on the 24th June, 1754]. [Antigua, Printed by Benjamin Mecom? 1754?].

No copy located. Title, etc., conjectured from advertisement in Me-com's *Antigua Gazette* of 12 April 1755.

1756

- 8.* Martin, Samuel, senior. *An Essay Upon Plantership . . . The Third Edition, Corrected, and much Enlarged by New Experiments. . . .* Antigua, Printed by Samuel Jones, at the New-Printing-Office, 1756.

Library of Congress, New York Public.

- 9.* *An Act, Supplementary to an Act . . . for Regulating the Militia . . . Passed the 30th Day of June, Anno Dom. 1756 . . .* St. John's in Antigua, Printed by Richard Offtey, at the Printing-Office on Thibou's Wharf, [1756].

John Carter Brown.

1757

- 10.* *A Poem, Addressed to a Young Lady. St. John's, Antigua, Printed in the Year 1757.*

Harvard, John Carter Brown.

1760

- 10a.* *An Ode on the King of Prussia. Antigua, Printed at the Printing-Office on the Parade, 1760.*

Swan.

1763

- 11.* Shervington, William. *Miscellanies. [Antigua], Printed by Edward Hughes, MDCCLXIII.*

John Carter Brown.

Before 1765

12. Martin, Samuel. [*An Essay Upon Plantership. . . . The Fourth Edition . . .*]. [Antigua, Printed by Samuel Clapham].

No copy located. Title and imprint from the London edition reprinted for A. Millar in 1765.

1766

- 13.* *An Act of Assembly, Passed in the Island of Antigua, 1766. Antigua, Printed (by order of the Council and Assembly of the said Island) by Alexander Shipton.*

Library Company of Philadelphia (Ridgeway).

1767

- 14.* Martin, Samuel. *An Essay Upon Plantership. . . the Sixth Edition . . . Antigua, 1767.*

Library of Congress.

1768

- 15.* [Sheet Almanac for 1769]. Rob. Mearns fecit. Antigua (Price One Shilling and Six-pence.) Printed for James Alley and Company.

Swan.

1773

16. [Broadside?] Antigua. By His Excellency Sir Ralph Payne . . . a proclamation. [St. John's, Antigua], 1773.

No copy located. Cited by Ragatz, p. 89, where it is described as "directing the establishment of legislative government in the Virgin Islands under authority from the King."

177-.

- 16a.* [Blank form: Seamen's register] Antigua. In pursuance of an Act . . . "... for the better encouragement of the Trade of his Majesty's Sugar Colonies in America." *An Account of the Names, Age, and Description of the Seamen on Board the . . . Customs house St. Johns, Anno Domini, 177-.*

Rhode Island Archives.

- 16b.* [Blank form] Let-pass. Antigua. By the Honorable Thomas Jarvis, Esq, President of the Island of Antigua. License is hereby granted unto ----- . . . 177-.

Rhode Island Archives.

- 16c.* [Blank form: General ship's clearance] Port of St. John, Antigua . . . Annoque Domini, 177-.

Rhode Island Archives.

1774

17. Gilbert, F. Funeral Sermon preached by F. Gilbert, May 1, 1774, in St. John, Antigua, on the Death of Nathanael Gilbert Esq. of the said Island. Antigua, R. Mearns, 1774.

No copy located. Description from Sabin, No. 27349.

1778

18. The addresses . . . to His Excellency Sir Ralph Payne, Knight of the Bath, and captain general of His Majesty's Leeward Islands, on His Excellency's public notification of the royal leave of absence from his Government, and of his intention to embark for Europe . . . [Antigua, 1778].

No copy located. Cited by Ragatz, p. 137.

1781

- 18a.* Antigua. In Error. John Otto Baijer, Esq; Plaintiff, Against Rowland Otto Baijer, Esq; Defendant. The Case of the Plaintiff. Antigua, Printed at the Post-Office Press, MDCCLXXXI.

Boston University Library (fragment).

1783

- 18b.* De Sponsione: or An Inquiry into the Design and Effect of Capitulations. . . . Antigua, Printed and Sold by Robert Mearns, in the Year 1783.

John Carter Brown.

1784

- 19.* An Act for Settling and Regulating the Trial of Criminal Slaves by Jury. Antigua, 1784.

No copy located. Cited by Ragatz, p. 42.

1785

20. Martin, Samuel. An Essay Upon Plantership, . . . Seventh Edition, with all the Additions, from the Author's Experiments to the Time of his Death. Antigua, Printed by R. Mearns. 1785.

No copy located. Title from Sabin, No. 44920.

21. The Duties of Masonry, An Oration Delivered in the Lodge April 20, 1785, After the Ceremonies of laying the Foundation Stone of the New Free-Masons Hall, by the D.P.G.M. To which is prefixed, An Address to the Lodges: Also, the Minutes and the Ceremonies of the Day. [Antigua, Robert Mearns? 1785].

No copy located. Advertised in the *Antigua Gazette* of June 8, 1785, as "This Day is Published . . . Sold by Mr. Mearns, at the Gazette Printing-Office and by Mr. M'Donough, at the Post-Office."

1786

22. Proceedings of a General Court-Martial on Captain Robert Hedges of the 67th Regiment: held at the Court-House, St. John's, Antigua, from Monday the 30th of January, to Monday the 13th of March, 1786. Antigua, St. John's: Printed by James Hargrove, on the Parade, MDCCLXXXVI.

Present whereabouts of the copy once in the possession of the late Vere L. Oliver of Antigua, from whom the above title and imprint are taken, is unknown. Probably this is the copy offered by F. Edwards of London for sale as No. 263 in his Catalogue 565 in 1933. Edwards has no record of the purchaser. The book was 112 pages, small folio.

1790

- 23.* An Almanack for the Year 1791 . . . Calculated by Mr. William Jeffery . . . Antigua, Printed for John Johnston (And Sold at the Gazette Printing-Office on the Parade).

John Carter Brown.

1796

24. Facts relating to the cruel treatment of the English prisoners of war at Point à Pitre and St. Martins . . . By an English Clergyman. Antigua, 1796.

No copy located. Cited by Ragatz, p. 152; Cundall, *Bibliography of the West Indies (Excluding Jamaica)*, No. 217a.

Before July, 1798

25. [The Proceedings of the General Colonial Assembly].

No copy located. Conjectured from an advertisement in *Antigua Gazette* of 5 July 1798, viz: "Taken from Mr. Colquhoun's House a copy of *The Proceedings of the General Colonial Assembly*."

1798

26. [Pocket Almanac for 1799]. Antigua, *Gazette* printer, 1798.

No copy located. Advertisement in *Antigua Gazette* for 27 December 1798 says: "This day are Published | Pocket and Sheet | Almanacks | for the Year 1799."

27. [Sheet Almanac for 1799]. Antigua, *Gazette* printer, 1798.

No copy located. Advertised as No. 26, *supra*.

28. Act of Courts. Antigua, [*Gazette* printer? 1798?].

No copy located. Advertised in *Antigua Gazette* of 5 July 1798 as: "For Sale at this Office | Act of Courts | New Militia Act."

29. New Militia Act. Antigua, [*Gazette* printer? 1798?].

No copy located. Advertised as No. 28, *supra*.

1799

30. Plan of the Town of St. John's. [Antigua, Journal Printing-Office, 1799?].

No copy located. Advertisement in *Antigua Journal* of 26 March 1799 says: "Plans of the Town of St. John's, may be had at Mrs. M'Nish's and the Journal Printing-Office."

31. An act for Cleaning and Amending the Highways in this Island. [Antigua: Journal Printing-Office, 1799?].

No copy located. Advertisement in *Antigua Journal* of 24 September 1799 says: "Copies of the Act for Cleaning and Amending the Highways in this Island may be had at the Journal Printing-Office."

32. The Melioration Act. [Antigua, Journal Printing-Office, 1799?].

No copy located. Advertised in *Antigua Journal* of 22 October 1799 as: "For Sale at this Office | The Melioration Act | With a Table of its Contents."

NEWSPAPERS

Antigua Gazette. Published by Thomas Smith, Benjamin Mecom, unidentified printer, Alexander Shipton, John [i.e., Robert?] Mearns, and for William Collins. Possibly others. Appeared as early as 9 September 1748 and can be traced with few interruptions to 14 November 1799; it probably continued after that.

New-York Historical Society has Jan. 4, 1751. American Antiquarian Society has Apr. 12, 1755, and Nov. 11, 1767, also July 5, 1798, to Nov. 14, 1799 (some issues missing).

Antigua Mercury or *St. John's Weekly Advertiser*. Ragatz says it was founded ca. 1767 and published weekly to at least May 3, 1777 (No. 518).

No issues located, except as implied by Ragatz' note.

Antigua Chronicle. Published from January, 1781, to at least December, 1786. Ragatz says it appeared also in 1788. Vol. I, No. 2, was printed "for the Post-Master." Vol. 6, No. 460, was printed by James Hargrove.

New-York Historical Society has Jan. 13, 1781, and Dec. 8, 1786.

Antigua Journal. Vere L. Oliver says (*History of Antigua*, I, cxxxvi) that the *Journal* was being published in 1788. It was still being printed at the end of 1799.

American Antiquarian Society has July 10, 1798 (vol. 11, no. 560), to Sept. 18; Oct. 2, 9, 23 to Dec. 25, 1798; Jan. 1, 1799, to July 23; Aug. 6 to 20; Sept. 3 to Nov. 12, 1799.

BRADFORD F. SWAN

Providence, R. I.

The "Fake" Title-page of "The Gilded Age": A Solution

One of the thorniest problems of Mark Twain bibliography concerns the two major states of the title-page of *The Gilded Age*. Apart from the matter of the varying imprints which quite legitimately occur on the title-page, there is the question of the "fake" title-page imprinted: The | Gilded Age | A Tale of Today | By | Mark Twain | (Samuel L. Clemens) | Author of "Innocents Abroad", "Roughing It", Etc. | and | Charles Dudley Warner | Author of "My Summer in a Garden", "Back Log Studies", Etc. | Fully Illustrated from New Designs | By Hoppin, Stephens, Williams, Etc., Etc. | (rule) | Sold by Subscription Only. | (rule) | Hartford | American Publishing Company | 1873.

Three years ago Jacob Blanck, the editor of *Bibliography of American Literature*, mentioned this problem to me. He had noticed that the "fake" title-page looked as though it had been tipped in before the book had been trimmed and cased. With the help of Professor William A. Jackson of Harvard University I have now discovered some very significant facts.

The agent's name which is found printed under that of the publisher in some of the copies is a source of much confusion and also of the many genuine variant imprints. The American Publishing Company was a subscription house, selling its books through agents only. No copies were sold to booksellers, who could not even obtain a copy to fill a special order from a customer. Instead, individual agents went from door to door taking orders for the books. They turned these in to the wholesale agents, who in turn sent in requests to the publisher. The system was quite successful, as these subscription books were not usually published until enough orders had accumulated to guarantee at least a minimal profit. There was the constant temptation of easy money, however, for the dishonest agent who

would sell several copies of the book to some bookseller at a slight discount which made the sale profitable to both of them. The agent was fired, if caught, but the risk was not great. Many copies of Mark Twain's previous works, *The Innocents Abroad* and *Roughing It*, had been sold in this way; so many, in fact, that something had to be done. Consequently the American Publishing Co. changed its policy for *The Gilded Age*. Instead of running the names of all their agents on the title-page, as was the custom, they ran only one name. The books were thus made up for each wholesale agent with only his own name and that of the American Publishing Co. on them. This made it an easy matter to trace a guilty agent if any copies appeared in the bookstores. But the new policy could not have been wholly effective, as several copies exist with the name of the agent cut from the title-page.

Copies of *The Gilded Age* exist carrying only the imprint of the American Publishing Co. These can be divided into two classes: those with the "fake" title-page, and the copies with an authentic title-page.

A copy with the presentation inscription of Charles Dudley Warner to his brother dated December 24, 1873, has the single imprint, as does the reviewer's copy, stitched without covers, that was sent to the *Boston Transcript*. Both of these title-pages are dated 1874. Frank C. Willson suggests¹ that these may have been meant for reviewers; for orders reaching the publishers directly as a result of their advertising, and perhaps, for orders brought in from a territory around Hartford, which Elisha Bliss, Jr., could superintend personally so as to prevent any conniving with agents of booksellers. All the single-imprint title-pages yet recorded are dated 1874, the "fakes" excepted.

The only copies located with the date 1873 and the single imprint of the American Publishing Co. have the so-called "fake" title-page. This title-page is tipped into the book, and is recognizable both because it varies typographically, and, most notably, because it lacks the name of one of the illustrators, White, on the title-page, and the imprint of the electro-typer, Wm. H. Lockwood, on the verso.

The types used in the real and "fake" titles are completely different, although there are a few superficial resemblances. The thickness of the "fake" page is 0.10 millimeters as against 0.12 millimeters for the rest of the signature, and the tone of the paper is different.

¹ Frank C. Willson, "That *Gilded Age* Again: An Attempt to Unmuddle the Mystery of the Fifty-Seven Variants," *PBSA*, XXXVII (1943), 141-156.

A microscopic examination of the page edges reveals some interesting facts. The edges of the "fake" title-page are so even with the edges of the rest of the pages that they all must have been trimmed at the same time. After trimming, the edges of the book were "sprinkled" with a decorative russet coloring (based on an iron sulphide solution) called "Iron Rust" by the printers, and the shape of the spots is revealed under a microscope as carrying over on the tipped-in title-page from the rest of the signature. Also, these markings are of exactly the same shade.

It can therefore be definitely stated that the "fake" title-pages were tipped into the book while it was being bound, and no later.

The scheme must have been carried out very shortly after the book was published. The copy in the possession of Mr. Blanck contains an inscription dated June 1874 by one Hiram J. Potter, which would leave a margin of six months at most between the publication of the book and the time when the first "fake" title-pages appeared on the market.

The theory advanced by Merle Johnson² and Frank C. Willson³ is that this "fake" 1873 title-page is the work of one of the agents of the American Publishing Co., who, in order to sell copies to the forbidden booksellers without detection, had this title-page tipped in to replace the one bearing his own name. This theory has a fairly solid foundation. Elisha Bliss, Jr., president of the American Publishing Co., reportedly accused one of his agents of printing this "fake" title-page and tipping it into some of his copies of *The Gilded Age* in order to sell them without detection to a retail bookseller. Bliss claimed not to know which agent was responsible; hence he was not obliged to fire any of them. This kept his sales force intact, and perhaps salved his conscience.

By the time that Merle Johnson came to make inquiries, Elisha Bliss, Jr., was dead; but his son, Frank Bliss, who was still living, professed to be completely puzzled by the incident, and certified that no such fonts of type were in the possession of his company.⁴

Case, Lockwood, and Brainard of Hartford, Conn., are the firm of printers and binders that manufactured the Mark Twain books for the American Publishing Co. Mr. Newton C. Brainard, Chairman of the Board of Directors, was kind enough to give me some information about *The Gilded Age*. He can remember some of the older printers talk-

² Merle Johnson, *A Bibliography of the Works of Mark Twain* (New York, 1935), p. 18.

³ Willson, *op. cit.*, 149.

⁴ Johnson, *op. cit.*

ing about the Mark Twain books, and is sure that the "fake" copies could not have been manufactured by a few unscrupulous employees out to make some extra money. Not only would this have been impossible because of lack of opportunity in the small plant they had in those days, but he is sure that there would have been some gossip about that kind of thing, and he cannot remember hearing any. Instead, he is positive that the tipped-in title-pages were the result of an order from Elisha Bliss, Jr., to change the title-pages, before binding, on a few hundred copies with some that Bliss supplied. Such an order would not have been considered at all unusual, and would not have been talked about for the same reason. All the binding operations were done by hand in those days, with the exception of the tooling on the covers, and it would have been easy to tip in a page before binding. It may have been done just in the course of the day's events. Unfortunately, all records of that period have long since been destroyed, and it is now impossible to get documentary proof.

Mark Twain would never have known about it. According to Mr. Brainard, there were no printing- or composing-room legends about him as there were about the other authors that they printed, who often came to see how the work was progressing and stayed to chat with the workers. Mark Twain never came near the printing shop, and indeed trusted Elisha Bliss to look after all his affairs, considering him very capable. That is, until later, when he considered Bliss far too capable.

This "fake" title-page is the clue to the whole problem. I have discovered that it also occurs in the advance salesman's dummies that were carried by the agents of the American Publishing Co. as they went through their districts taking individual orders.

An advance salesman's dummy, or prospectus, consists of a selection of representative pages from the book offered for sale, bound in a sample binding. It usually contains frontispiece, title-page, a group of well-illustrated pages, and, on the inner back cover, specimen spines of the different bindings available. Also, blank pages were bound into the back of the prospectus for the agent's convenience in taking down the names, addresses, and specifications of copies ordered.

Copies are easily found of the prospectus for *Roughing It*, *A Tramp Abroad*, and Mark Twain's other books issued by the American Publishing Co. But copies of the prospectus for *The Gilded Age* are almost non-existent, and after searching for over three years I was able to locate only one, now in the hands of Mr. Burney L. Fishback, a private collector living in Perry, Mo. There is no reason why this prospectus should be so

rare. The usual number were certainly issued, as is evident from the sale of 40,000 copies of *The Gilded Age* in the first two months of publication.⁵ Only an abnormally small number seem to have survived, however, and existing records give no clue to their disappearance.

Whatever happened to them, close examination reveals that the so-called "fake" title-pages are actually from the same setting as the title-pages in the advance salesman's dummies. Were they leftovers, or maybe reprints? The most exacting tests performed at the Houghton Library of Harvard University under the comparison microscope show that type, paper, and ink are identical. Both certainly came from the same setting.

Why should the American Publishing Co. do such a thing? Their motives can only be guessed. The evidence would seem to indicate that Elisha Bliss, Jr., and his son Frank Bliss were not altogether honest when they disowned the "fake" title-page. Also on the record are Mark Twain's suspicions of the financial integrity of the American Publishing Co. In a letter to Charles L. Webster from Elmira dated August 8/82, he wrote: "... Look here, have the Am. Pub. Co. swindled me out of only \$2000? I thought it was \$5000."⁶ Most people have refused to believe this charge, citing it as another example of Mark Twain's lack of financial acumen. Writers have ever been ready to accuse their publishers of falsifying the sales record, but in this instance Mark Twain may have been right.

Whatever the motives may have been, the facts are now plain. The advance salesman's dummies were most certainly issued by the American Publishing Co., and not by any agent attempting a fraud. Hence it is certain, Elisha and Frank Bliss' denials notwithstanding, that the "fake" title-pages were produced by the American Publishing Co., and were bound into the book at their order.

DENIS WOODFIELD

The Origin of the Book Trade Sales

In the earlier years of the American booktrade, home markets were supplied by the country printer. All he needed was a press and enough capital to run off an edition of 250 copies of a work. This small lot of a saleable title could be easily disposed of through a simple group of marketing outlets; *i.e.*, selling in the shop, selling by subscription, and selling by itinerant hawkers. The first sophistication to enter the picture of book

⁵ Albert Bigelow Paine, *Mark Twain, a Biography* (New York, 1912), p. 500.

⁶ Samuel C. Webster, *Mark Twain, Business Man* (Boston, 1946), p. 192.

distribution was the system of exchanging stock, usually unbound, with other printers. Printers circularized broadside lists of titles which they were willing to trade with a colleague for a like value of his stock. Although this was a complex and very important feature of book-wholesaling in the early nineteenth century, it is an aspect of the trade about which we know very little.

By 1820, however, these rather primitive methods of distribution were proving inadequate. In the large metropolitan areas of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, the markets were glutted with books, whereas there was still an unfilled demand for books in almost all other populated areas of the United States and Canada. Clearly something new had to be tried—something which could move books out of the areas where they were overstocked into areas where they were needed.

On January 1, 1822, Mathew Carey of Philadelphia retired, and the headship of his publishing firm passed on to his son, Henry C. Carey. Perhaps as much as any man who has ever lived, Henry had been "bred to his trade." He was foresighted and imaginative, and he knew the book business well—perhaps even better than his father, who had been pretty much satisfied to rest complacently on outmoded distribution techniques.

Henry Carey looked at the depressed condition of the booktrade, the overstocked metropolitan stores, the innumerable book auctions, and felt that perhaps the condition of the times demanded another such organization as the ill-fated American Company of Booksellers which his father had been instrumental in establishing two decades earlier. Lack of interest had allowed the Booksellers' Company to collapse in a short time, but perhaps the trade in the 1820's would respond differently.

Accordingly, on June 5, 1823, Henry Carey wrote to John Miller, bookseller and publisher of Fleet Street, London, explaining the situation.

The trade here is in a most detestably bad situation. Our auctions are filled with Books, and there are not less than 8 or 10 sales per Week in this city. We do not find it affects us materially but we lament to see a good business so destroyed. We believe it arises from want of Union among the principal Booksellers and we are now engaged in an attempt to produce it, from wh^h we hope the happiest effects.¹

But the "happiest effects" were not forthcoming. The younger Carey printed up circulars suggesting possible advantages of such an organiza-

¹ Quoted in the *H. C. Carey & I. Lea Letter Books*, Vol. 3, in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. (All manuscript materials used in this paper are quoted with permission.)

tion and had them distributed to the major booksellers in the nation. Although it was a new generation to whom he appealed, the untoward fate of the organization's predecessor was still too recent history, and the union that he foresaw did not at that time take shape.

One of the important aspects of such an organization that Carey was anxious to reestablish was the periodic literary fair. He felt that in the literary fair would be found the booktrade's answer to its growing distribution problems. Booktrade personnel from all corners of the nation would attend, and books in large lots could be sold, thus furnishing a new wholesale outlet for the large stocks of books that were amassing in the metropolitan centers. When the concept of a booksellers' union collapsed, Carey decided to have a fair of his own, and on August 20, 1824, America's first Book Trade Sale was held at 87 Chestnut Street in Philadelphia.² Moses Thomas was the auctioneer, and representatives of the trade from all over the nation were invited. H. C. Carey & I. Lea was the only firm selling, however.³ The event was so successful that in the following year booksellers of New York, and in 1827 of Boston, instituted Book Trade Sales in those cities.⁴ The sales in Philadelphia and New York were continued semi-annually through the time of the Civil War. Almost nothing is known about the origin of these sales, their patronage, or their operation.

The *Cost Book* of the H. C. Carey & I. Lea firm, although no longer available for the year of the first Trade Sale, has been preserved from 1826. Among the earliest entries in the *Cost Book* are several references which give little information about the "mysteries" of the early Trade Sales. Under the year 1826 several entries list not only a cost price and a trade price⁵ for an item, but also a Trade Sale price. For example, the various prices involved in publishing John Nicholson's *Operative Mechanic* in two volumes are listed as follows:⁶

² Poulson's *American Daily Advertiser*, August 17, 1824.

³ Henry C. Carey, "Reminiscences of a Publisher," *American Publishers' Circular & Literary Gazette*, n.s. 1 (June 1, 1863), 131.

⁴ "The first Trade Sale in Boston . . . was held . . . August 7, 1827." *American Publishers' Circular & Literary Gazette*, V (June 18, 1859), 294. A memorandum from Henry C. Carey to Mathew Carey, dated August 15, 1835, in the William L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan, indicates that H. C. Carey & I. Lea purchased \$220 worth of law books "at N. Y. Trade Sale" in 1825.

⁵ Trade price: "the price at which a book was sold to the trade; wholesale price." *The Cost Books of Ticknor and Fields* (New York, The Bibliographical Society of America, 1949), p. 1 (*i.e.*, 50).

⁶ The H. C. Carey & I. Lea *Cost Book*, p. 29. This *Cost Book*, which the author is at present engaged in editing, is in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

cost unbound	\$1.90
trade price in boards	4.20
trade sale price folded	3.50

When adjustments are made for the cost of folding, sewing, and boarding the volumes, the following equated prices result:

cost in boards	\$2.40
trade price in boards	4.20
trade sale price in boards	3.96

It is doubtful, however, that copies of these books were sold at the early Trade Sales in boards. The *Cost Book* invariably lists the Trade Sale prices for stock in sheets only. That this assumption is correct is indicated by a brief account of the Trade Sales which was printed in the *New York Tribune*, September 19, 1857, which said, "New books were for several years generally sold in sheets folded and collated, and were offered mostly in that form at the Trade Sales."

It should be observed that listing, as Carey and Lea did, a Trade Sale price in addition to a trade price manifests that the firm had planned from the beginning to sell a certain number of copies of their newly published titles at the Trade Sales. In other words, it looked upon the sales as a legitimate wholesale book-distribution medium. The Trade Sale prices which are listed in the early pages of the *Cost Book* are never more than 10% below the trade price, indicating that the firm apparently felt that a 10% discount was offset by volume sales and by the lessened necessity for storage and handling.

In the earliest Trade Sales the auctioneer was merely the crier, and the buyer settled his account directly with the seller. Generally the seller extended credit to all purchases of over \$100. Later, however, the auctioneer became a financial middleman, paying to sellers the amounts of their sales within thirty days of the completion of the sale, but accepting from buyers notes payable in four months.⁷ Under this later arrangement, the seller paid the auctioneer a commission of 4% of the invoice for his services.⁸

Trade Sales worked well for a time, but within a decade of their origin some were claiming that abuses were being allowed to creep in. Among the first to criticize publicly was the shortlived trade periodical, the *Book-sellers' Advertiser, and Monthly Register of New Publications*. While allow-

⁷ *New York Tribune*, September 19, 1857.

⁸ H. C. Carey & I. Lea *Cost Book*, p. 163.

ing certain advantages to the Trade Sales, such as introducing new works to the market and bringing together members of the trade, it deplored the constant fluctuation in retail book prices which the Trade Sales were inducing. "A retailer asks for a book a fair advance on the publisher's price, say \$1," the *Advertiser* pointed out. "Your neighbor," says his customer, 'offers it at 75 cents.' Why? He purchased at the Trade sale."⁹

The kind of limited wholesale discounting described earlier in this paper, however, could never have caused the great fluctuation in retail book prices about which the *Booksellers' Advertiser* complained. These large price fluctuations were induced rather by a later development wherein publishers, printers, and booksellers began using the Trade Sales as a practicable means for disposing of accumulations of unsaleable stock, not only of books, but also of old type, battered stereotype plates, odd lots of stationery, and other notions.¹⁰ These were sold at auction to the highest bidder. Indeed, Carey and Lea themselves later used the Trade Sales for this same purpose. In September, 1830, they wanted to close out their enormous stock of old law publications, so they put the books to auction at the Philadelphia Trade Sale and sold them for \$13,000,¹¹ a sum estimated at only 20% to 25% of what had been their original retail value.¹² This kind of activity was what resulted in the "price-gouging" that the *Advertiser* deplored.

It should be noted, however, that at the same time that Carey and Lea were using the Trade Sales to unload unwanted stock, they were continuing to use it also as a regular wholesale outlet, just as they had done before. To the same sale they also sent stocks of their medical publications, every one of which was a well-selling, current title. Indeed, of the twenty-three medical titles which they sent to the fall sale in 1830, fully nineteen had been published by them within the preceding year. They had long since ceased fixing a Trade Sale price for their new titles, but they did record the number of copies of medical titles that were sold at the fall sale in 1830, as well as the total amount these titles brought in. When adjusted to account for binding costs, this sum is about 15% below the total trade price valuation. This would seem to indicate that there was a

⁹ 1 (April, 1834), 25.

¹⁰ Edwin T. Freedley, *Philadelphia and Its Manufactures* (Philadelphia, Young, 1858), p. 158.

¹¹ Letter from Alexander McCausland to Mathew Carey, dated August 3, 1835, in the William L. Clements Library.

¹² Letter from Alexander McCausland to Mathew Carey, dated August 6, 1835, in the William L. Clements Library.

trend toward giving greater Trade Sale discounts in 1830 than the 10% which had been allowed four years earlier.¹³

Henry Carey was willing to admit that there were problems created by the establishment of Trade Sales which still remained to be overcome. He always contended, however, that the original concept was a sound one. In 1834, he explained his stand to Hilliard, Gray & Company, booksellers of Boston, as follows:

In commencing Trade Sales it was our intention that they sh^d be under the Controul of the Trade & that they sh^d be confined to members of it. With that view none were allowed admittance without permission and such lots as were proper to be purchased by Booksellers were offered.

Now however the state of things is widely different. Any Auctioneer that sees fit announces a trade sale & invites Booksellers to contribute. In New York & Philad^a several of them hold what they call Trade Sales & as soon as one is over another is announced & thus we are likely to have in each of these cities 6, 8 or 10 sales per annum. Books are sold in very small lots & the wholesale dealer is put upon the same footing with those who have been accustomed to purchase from him, by which his business is materially injured & in fact it has become a mere retail auction business.¹⁴

Again he suggested that the booksellers should organize, or at least meet and appoint auctioneers, set definite periods for Trade Sales, and establish other rules to which they should be made to conform. This time the trade seems to have followed Carey's advice insofar as taking control of the Trade Sales is concerned. A Trade Sale Committee was appointed from among booksellers and publishers to watch over the operation of the sales. Interest soon lagged, however, and following the appointment of the committee for the year 1837, the trade exerted no more supervision over the sales until 1855.¹⁵

Later developments in the Book Trade Sales have been described elsewhere¹⁶ and consequently lie outside the scope of the present paper. De-

¹³ H. C. Carey & I. Lea *Cost Book*, p. 163.

¹⁴ Copy of a letter dated September 12, in the *Carey, Lea & Blanchard Letter Books*, unnumbered volume, in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

¹⁵ "New York Publishers' Association," *American Publishers' Circular & Literary Gazette*, I (September 1, 1855), 1. It is interesting to note that the committee appointed by the New York Publishers' Association to look into the Trade Sale situation in 1855 reported back the same abuses mentioned in Henry Carey's letter quoted above. "Books are sold in the smallest quantities to the smallest dealers, and, in some cases, even to those who are not dealers, thus reducing and confusing prices."

¹⁶ W. S. Tryon, "Book Distribution in Mid-Nineteenth Century America," *PBSA*, XLI (1947), 210-230.

spite the many criticisms that have been leveled at the Trade Sales, they nevertheless opened up a vast new wholesale outlet of inestimable value to the trade. At the Philadelphia sale alone in the spring of 1838 almost a third of a million volumes changed hands. "Among these," reported the newspapers, "were 12,162 bibles; 8067 testaments; 6367 dictionaries; 24,419 spelling books; 1960 reams of paper; 5957 hymn books; 3160 prayer books; and 7200 geographies."¹⁶ Carey, Lea & Blanchard

¹⁶ *National Gazette and Literary Register* [daily], March 26, 1838.

alone disposed of over 26,000 volumes, and 130 purchasers and 113 sellers representing the leading booktrade houses from Maine to Louisiana were in attendance. The original purpose behind the institution of the Book Trade Sales, that of moving books off the metropolitan seaboard, seems to have been fulfilled.

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A Modern Instance

An error of pagination in a copy of Theodore Besterman, *World Bibliography of Bibliographies*, Vol. I,¹ at the Rice Institute's Fondren Library is interesting because, although analogous to similar errors often observed in early books, it very likely came about in a way that would not be suspected by one unfamiliar with modern printing techniques.

The pagination of sig. b runs xvii, xviii, xxi, xxii, xix, xx, xxv, xxvi, xxiii, xxiv, xxvii, xxviii—or, reckoned by leaves, the sequence is b1, [b3], [b2], [b5], [b4], [b6]. The first three signatures of the volume reveal that the preliminaries and text were printed, or at any rate typographically planned, separately. The text starts with sig. B; however, since a single octavo quire [A] would not have been adequate for the fourteen leaves of preliminary matter, sigs. [a]⁸ and b⁸ were substituted. This arrangement is common; it may be noted also in R. B. McKerrow's very carefully designed *Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students* (Oxford, University Press, 1927), except that there sigs. [a] and b, like the following text (sigs. B *et seq.*), are quires of four leaves each. Similarly, in the original edition of the *World Bibliography of Bibliographies*, which is sewed in fours, the preliminaries occupy twelve leaves of Vol. I (1939) and are signed [a], b, and c.

The six-leaf sig. b of the revised Vol. I required special imposition. If, as in the early days of printing, regular-sized sheets of paper were being used,

¹ Second edition (London, Privately Published by the Author, 1947).

the section probably would have been imposed as an incomplete octavo, with the remainder of the sheets cut away before or after printing, depending on whether used for oddments, wraps, or unrelated jobs. There are various possible ways of imposing the six-leaf section, but in any method leaves two and five, and leaves three and four, must be conjugate pairs. If the former are folded so as to wrap inside instead of outside the latter, the observed faulty sequence will occur.

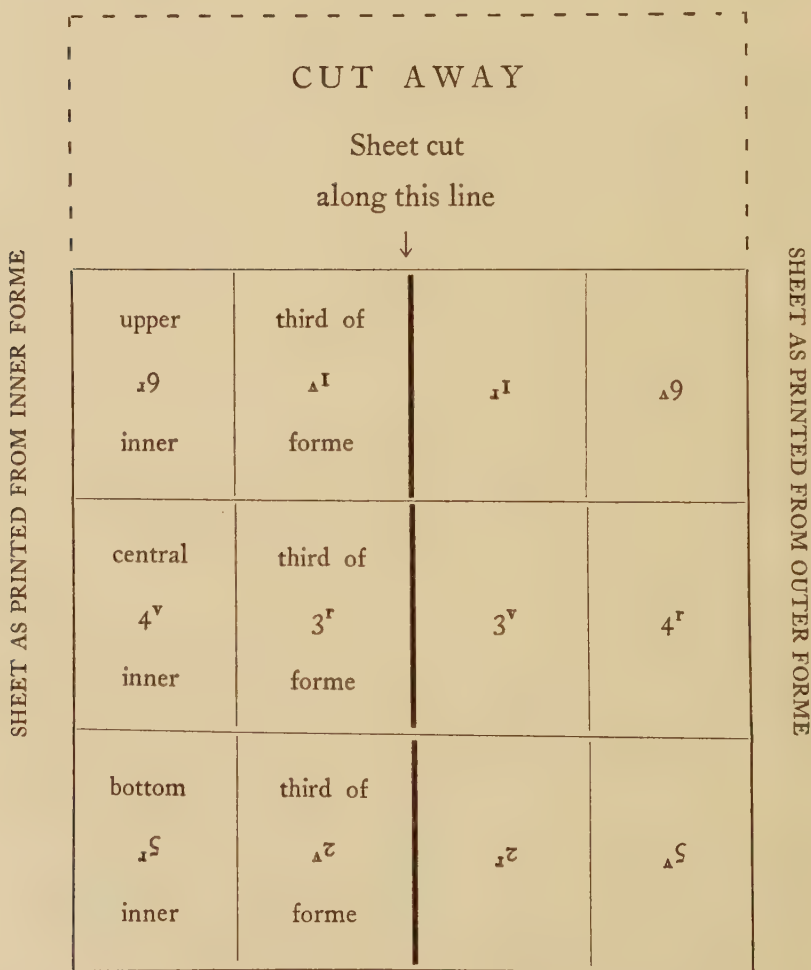
Modern books, however, are seldom printed on ordinary-sized sheets. The paper of Besterman is wove, but even if laid would not prove whether regular or double (or possibly even larger) stock was used, because machine-made laid paper now has the chain lines impressed in the longitudinal rather than transverse direction when it is known that the double size will be employed for a normal format.² Let us assume that the *World Bibliography of Bibliographies* was printed on double paper.³ The imposition of the regular eight-leaf quires would then be in half sheets: i.e., the inner and outer formes of one signature would be simultaneously printed end-to-end (and afterwards perfected by turning the paper over), or else the inner or the outer forme of two successive signatures would be imposed together. A six-leaf signature, on the other hand, would be imposed in an altogether different manner. The printed sheets before folding would appear as in the accompanying figure, where the broken lines represent the unused part of the double sheet after the inner and outer formes of a six-leaf quire have been imposed and printed. As the diagram shows, each forme spreads across both halves of the original double sheet; therefore this special imposition would be impossible for printing on regular-sized sheets of paper.

When the perfected half (really three-eighths) sheet has been separated from its mate and is ready to be folded, it is first laid so that the pages printed from the inner forme are upward and in the position shown in the figure; then the bottom third is brought up across the central third, and the top third folded down over the other two; finally the resulting packet

² *The Rice Institute Pamphlet*, for example, looks like an entirely regular octavo, yet actually is printed on half sheets of double-sized Fine Line Text having the wire and (faint) chain lines stamped in the "wrong" directions. I would guess that the same is true of McKerrow's *Introduction to Bibliography*, which is a demy octavo with vertical chain lines. (The fact that it is sewed in fours is immaterial to the direction of the lines. In later impressions of this book, the pages were reimposed and furnished with new signatures for folding and sewing in eights; sometimes wove paper was used, and sometimes laid paper.)

³ Analogous impositions, in twice the indicated number of units, would be practiced if quadruple paper was obtainable and was not too large for the press.

is doubled back to bring pages 1 and 12 on the outside. This treatment gives the correct sequence of leaves and pages, but if instead the sheet is folded z-fashion (the bottom third back instead of forward), the faulty sequence of the Rice-Fondren copy results. It should be added that the process is reversible: that is, if the sheet is imposed to be folded z-wise, then the folding stated above as correct will result in the same faulty foliation (1, 3, 2, 5, 4, 6).



Book Review

Festschrift zur Feier des zweihundertjaehrigen Bestandes des Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchivs. Herausgegeben von Leo Santifaller. 1. Band 1949; 2. Band 1951. Wien, Oesterreichische Staatsdruckerei, 1949 and 1951. viii, 795 pp.; viii, 559 pp. Plates, illustrations. 250 öS, 180 öS. (Mitteilungen des Oesterreichischen Staatsarchivs, Ergaenzungsband II and III, edited by the Generaldirektion.)

The two-hundredth anniversary of the founding of the Austrian Federal Archives in 1749 is a significant event in the general history of European archival administration, as is said by the medievalist Geoffrey Barraclough of Liverpool in the introduction to his essay in this work. In addition to the two main volumes here reviewed, there is a third, containing one hundred reproductions of original documents. Together these three tomes make a fitting tribute. Thirty of the contributions are by authors in nine foreign countries; among them Italy and Switzerland are represented more often than any other countries, as might be expected. Five languages other than German are represented. It is reassuring to see theorists, practitioners and men of research collaborate in an undertaking of this magnitude. Professors of history are of necessity interested in the sources and their availability; custodians of archives and manuscript collections function all the better if they are allowed and expected to participate in interpreting some of their materials, as teachers and as writers.

Archival Sciences

Among the twelve essays in the first chapter on *Archiv-Wissenschaften* are three dealing with archival organization in Hungary (by Dyonis Janossy), Switzerland (by Anton Largiader) and the U.S.S.R. (by Norbert Bischoff, political representative of Austria in Moscow). Centralization appears to be most thorough in Russia, where even manuscript divisions in libraries, museums and other institutions as well as record and film collections have been coördinated, excepting only the Archives of the Communist Party and of the Marx-Engels-Lenin-Institute. In Hungary local, municipal and county archives as well as church

archives are under the Ministry of the Interior, though subject to the supervision of the Central Archival Establishment, a division of the Hungarian National Museum in the Ministry of Education; industrial and commercial records are not included. The well-documented article on Swiss archival conditions reveals an entirely different situation. The Swiss archives are not centralized, in keeping with the concept of cultural independence in the twenty-two cantons. The State or Cantonal Archives are legally independent of the Federal Archives at Bern, and are by far the most important institutions in Switzerland for the study of Swiss and European history. The Local, Parish and City Archives, though under the supervision of the State, are generally and jealously cared for by the many local historical and genealogical societies. Similar information on the Consistorial Congregation at the Vatican is found in a study by Tihamer Vanyo on this organization, and the article by Barraclough gives a good account of the English County Archives, which present a picture much like the Cantonal Archives in Switzerland and for the same reason.

Giovanni Pratico furnishes a short account of the reorganization of the District and City Archives of Mantua under Maria Theresa made according to a plan by the archivist F. E. Cotti. Walter Pillich tells of the research activities in the Austrian State Archives, an integral part of the Austrian Chancellery until 1868, under Count W. A. von Kaunitz, from 1762-1792, which most generally were undertaken for the sake of supporting Kaunitz's diplomatic and political activities. Jakob Seidl gives a biographical account of the important officials of the Austrian State Archives since 1900.

The six remaining papers in this section deal with private archives, two of them of manorial estates, three of church institutions, and the sixth of an Austrian noblewoman. The librarian of the United Nations at the seat of the old League of Nations in Geneva, Baron A. C. Breycha-Vauthier de Baillamont of Austria, publishes here a first short survey of the literary remains of Bertha von Suttner, the Austrian peace-advocate and one-time secretary of Alfred Nobel. These valuable source materials, not generally accessible, by stipulation of the will, until 1943, throw much light on many events and persons between 1890 and 1914. They are, appropriately, the property of the United Nations.

Palaeography

The four papers dealing with palaeography are headed by Karl Pivec with a theoretical discussion of the methods practiced by medievalists in

determining the place, time and authorship of documents written during the period following the close of the Middle Ages. The other three studies are investigations of specific groups of records and very instructive as such.

Heraldry and Genealogy

Anna Coreth analyzes the possible heraldic, genealogical, political and promotional objectives attaching to a personal manuscript of Maximilian I, written probably in 1507; its contents are reproduced here. Wolfgang Kotz undertakes a similar study of a Swiss manuscript of the seventeenth century by an unknown author, made for unknown purposes, and listing about 2,000 crests and the names of the noblemen who fell in the battle of Sempach in 1386. Petrus Ortmayr tries to furnish genealogical proof that the Saxonian counts of Seeburg and Gleiss came to Austria through a donation of land by Otto III in 993. Karl Ausserer traces the pedigree and history of the North Italian family of the Gando de Porta Oriola from the twelfth to the fourteenth century.

Sources and Sources Study

(Middle Ages)

Of the eighteen titles appearing under this heading eight deal with church records. Among them is a paper by R. B. Pugh, a reproduction and an extensive analysis of a fragmentary account kept 1333-1334 for the household of Isabel of Lancaster, an English noblewoman and a nun.

Hans Kramer gives a condensed version of a trip made by Francesco Piccolomini—later Pius III for 27 days—to the assembly of Christians at Regensburg in 1471, from the Latin original of a counselor, Angelino Patrizzi, supplemented by the caustic remarks of another companion, the vain Giannantonio Campano. It leaves the impression of a "Nachklang" to the many trips made by Francesco's uncle, the renowned Enea Silvio, later Pius II, as cardinal in the service of Frederick III and of the Church.

Another contribution by Geoffrey Barraclough contains reproductions of nine records from the Lancashire Record Office illustrating the richness of English County Archives in source materials for other than British history. He mentions as a particularly valuable record the account book of an English merchant in Leipzig of 1639, which still requires circum-spect critical editing. Albert Bruckner makes a strong plea for more intensive publication regarding history, structure, organization and administration of medieval archives. He bemoans especially the dearth of information on manorial records and intact bodies of such records. The

so-called "Adelsarchiv" in the State Archives at Basel is in reality only a systematic collection of manuscripts. He briefly describes the real archives willed to the City of Basel in 1585 by Ritter Claus von Hattstatt, and finally reproduces an early Alsatian feudal document, stipulating manorial rights to the village of Woffenheim.

Yvonne Lanhers lists the records pertaining to the relations between Albert of Austria and Philip IV of France found in the Bibliothèque Nationale and the French National Archives. She calls for an inventory of the many European archives, including those in the French provinces, to make possible a complete record of this relationship. Anna Hedwig Benna summarizes the relationships of Roman and Germanic Law, and discusses the steps to be taken to get a clearer idea of the sources for court procedure found in a German manuscript version of the latter half of the fifteenth century. The manuscript is here printed in full.

The chapter ends with the most extensive contribution to the *Festschrift*, from the hand of the editor himself: reproductions of two codices, one on parchment, the other on paper, containing the detailed lists of recipients and donors of benefices, authorized, with papal approval, by Emperor Maximilian I at the time of his assumption of regal powers in 1486 and probably of imperial powers in 1508. They are here reproduced (with editorial liberties, explained), together with a well-documented introduction on the history of these *preces primariae* (nominations), and an alphabetical list of names of recipients.

(*Modern Times*)

Ten essays deal with modern sources. Oskar Regele adds a third essay on Austrian official historiography (supplementing those by Pillich and Seidl): a résumé of the evolution of the writing of military history in Austria, where the first Occidental military archives were established in 1711, from purely factual reporting of warfare to a treatment of military history as a part of universal history.

A hitherto practically forgotten co-worker of Metternich, of similar caliber to Wessenberg and Lebzeltern, emerges from newly uncovered records and correspondence, in an essay written by Erich Zoellner. Freiherr Franz Binder von Kriegelstein, scion of a large family which served the House of Hapsburg well, is here shown pursuing Austria's cause successively in all European states but Spain. It is difficult to see how he escaped Wurzbach, Skrik, Bibl and the A.D.B. August Oktavian Loehr, the retired former Chief Director of the Museum for the History of Civi-

lization, concludes the first volume with a report on the developments in the organization of iconographic resources since the International Historical Congress at Paris in 1926.

Legal, Constitutional and Economic History
(Austria)

Four of the eight contributions in this chapter deal primarily with certain phases of Austria's economic history. A case of independent constructive diplomacy occurring between Counselor Bender of the Austrian District government in Freiburg im Breisgau and his counterpart, Daniel Bruckner, archivist of the City of Basel, involving the shipping rights of Basel on the Rhine River, is revealed in secret correspondence carried on between the two men in the period of 1760-1765. Paul Roth makes an interesting story of it.

The so-called "Minor court offices" in imperial Vienna included that of the caretakers of the wardrobe for the imperial orders, the oldest of which was that of the Golden Fleece, founded in 1429, in more recent times (1712) revived by Charles VI, to which were added successively the orders of Maria Theresa (1751), Stephan (1764), Rudolph (1806), Leopold (1808) and of the Iron Crown (1816). Erwin M. Auer contributes to the history of this minor court office during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, appending detailed statements about the initiation fees and other financial obligations of the members, including tips to the caretakers. The wardrobe is now in the custody of the Museum for the History of Art. Goethe and Grillparzer, incidentally, were members of the Order of Leopold, free of taxes.

Four studies are concerned with the legal and constitutional history of Austria. Oswald Gschliesser compares point for point the "Bill of Rights" provisions in the Austrian Constitution, which goes back to the Basic Law adopted December 21, 1867, with similar provisions of the Constitution of April 25, 1848, and the Belgian Constitution of 1831. He finds definite genetic connections. Especially interesting is the formulation of article 9, Section 1, which says: "All ethnic groups have equal rights, every group has an inviolable right to preservation and cultivation of its ethnic identity and its language."

Otto Stolz makes the terms "Haus," "Hof," and "Staat" mean a great deal more than the uninitiated expect them to. When the Institution in whose honor the *Festschrift* appeared assumed these terms for its name in 1749, it thus deliberately recognized the complex nature of the Com-

monweal's records, which represented evolution from simple communal forms of government through the artificialities of later periods to the recent state. Stolz ends with a discussion of terminology and advocates the term "Fuerstenstaat" for Austria up to the nineteenth century instead of "Lehensstaat," "Territorialstaat," "Staendestaat," "Patrimonialstaat," or "Obrigkeitsstaat."

Church History

Church history is represented with a group of eight articles. Of these Hubert Jedin's study of Domenico de Domenichi, Bishop of Brescia, is full of important facts illustrating the close connection between church and state policy under Frederick III in the second half of the fifteenth century, when the Turkish threat became more real. Hitherto little- or never-used records in the papal archives serve to show the intimate relations between the Bishop and the Emperor; the high mark is perhaps Domenichi's letter to Frederick's thirteen-year-old son, the future Maximilian I (p. 267).

The so-called German-Catholics, a politically inspired departure among tradesmen and factory workers, led in Germany by Johannes Ronge, having made feeble appearance in Austria in the course of the revolution of 1848, disintegrated under the conservative measures of the Metternich régime. Ronge, appearing a second time in Vienna in 1868, had become a freethinker and even anti-religious. Andreas Posch writes a detailed account of the movement in Vienna. Archivists will be interested in the use of a letter by Metternich's hand, which is in the author's possession.

Friedrich Engel Janosi outlines the background history of the Austrian veto in the election in 1846 by the College of Cardinals of Cardinal Mastai-Ferretti as Pope Pius IX. There are interesting tabulations of the election statistics and a list of the cardinals constituting the College. While the veto in 1846 was and would have been ineffective, because the election had occurred before the foreign cardinals had arrived and the veto was not against the successful candidate, the veto in 1903 did successfully spoil the chances of Cardinal Rampolla to succeed Leo XIII. Whether Rampolla might have followed Pius X in 1914 is the object of the author's speculations in the second part of his paper. Rampolla died before the election.

General and Austrian History

Werner Ohnsorge stresses the value of Byzantine sources in supple-

menting occidental records, as he attempts to interpret the relationships between East and West during Charlemagne's reign. Walter Goldinger produces a calendar of 104 documents recorded by Paul von Oberstein, a diplomatic counselor of the early sixteenth century, serving Maximilian I, Charles V, and Ferdinand I. Kalman Juhasz introduces another diplomat, who lived a generation or two before Oberstein: Bishop János Bonzagno, a typical clerical dignitary of the Renaissance. Interested in the arts and sciences, he built a cathedral and a palace at Csanád as well as a library, none of which is in existence today. He served Zápolyai, the rival of Mathias Corvinus of Hungary.

Edward McCabe's paper on the execution of Charles I of England in 1649 exhibits unusually detached and mature scholarship. He concludes by saying: "For better synthesis than our own we can only wait; a perfect synthesis, even if it were possible, we would not recognize. . . . It is odd that the outstanding work recently done on this period by American and British scholars shows something like filial piety or ancestor-worship; they are more concerned with notable men than with ideologies." He refers specifically to such men as Notestein, Jordan, Neale and Wright. Walter Sturminger tells of two of the known messengers between besieged Vienna and Karl of Lothringen, eventual deliverer of the city after two months of mounting anxiety in the summer of 1683. He concludes that Kolschitzky (Goldschuetz), much overrated, was a somewhat vainglorious trader, who also became one of Vienna's first coffee-house owners, whereas Michaelowitz seems to have much claim to grateful remembrance. Hans Lantze writes about Joseph von Spergs, one of the first archivists of the newly established Federal Archives in Vienna, who was knighted and made Freiherr by Maria Theresa for his services to Austria. On the basis of an extensive private correspondence, much of it in faultless Latin, the author finds that Spergs was not in sympathy with the Josephinian reform movement, though he had been an ardent leader in the reformed Catholicism flourishing in the Vienna of Maria Theresa.

Theophila Wassilko gives an interesting account of the dilatory tactics and clever manipulations of Austrian officials, under the guidance of Rudolf Graf Wrba as imperial commissioner, to escape the hardest consequences of French demands (sales of confiscated goods) during the occupation in 1805. Charles Biaudet describes an attempt by Jean-Samuel de Loys, a slightly overzealous native of Lausanne, to improve relations between the French-Swiss canton Waadt and the France of the

days after Napoleon I was exiled. Not much success attended L.'s mission to Paris.

Nicolaus B. Tomadakis gives a lucid account of the Greek communities existing in Austria (including Triest) during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, after Vienna's delivery in 1683 and up to the Greek revolution in 1830. Appended are a good bibliography, a list of the principal charters and of the principal locations, the important men, the churches founded, and the journals and newspapers established. Development of the railroad system in the mountainous regions of Austria is described in Karl Feiler's study of the career of Karl Ritter von Ghega. Of special interest is the fact that Ghega visited North America in 1842, to study conditions there. It is quite remarkable that the state stepped aside from management and control when the system had been launched successfully.

Alexander Novotny concludes with a study of Lorenz von Stein, promising historian, effective journalist, and finally, for thirty years, from 1855, professor of political science at the University of Vienna. The erstwhile liberal, who for his views was released from the University of Kiel (1852), evolved into a conservative though pragmatic constitutionalist.

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